

EXCLUSIVE: MORDECAI RICHLER ON THE ANGLO DILEMMA

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

APRIL 13, 1992 \$2.25



A COSTLY FACEOFF

**AFTER THE
HOCKEY STRIKE,
WILL THE NHL
EVER REGAIN ITS
APPEAL?**

**L.A. KINGS STAR
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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE APRIL 13, 1992 VOL. 128 NO. 16

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CANADA/COVER

A COSTLY FACEOFF

The NHL players strike last week threatened to cost team owners, television networks, thousands of workers and the players themselves millions of dollars. And fans were at least temporarily denied their beloved game. But even if it is settled quickly and play resumes this week, the strike is expected to change the players' relationship with their employers and, more significantly, their fans. — 14



SPECIAL REPORT

IN THE EYE OF THE STORM

Citing political and economic uncertainty, a growing number of English-speaking Quebecers are leaving their home province. In an exclusive essay for Maclean's, novelist Marlene Richer describes the prevailing mood of this fellow anglophone as "two parts melancholy and one part anger." — 28



WORLD

IS THE PARTY OVER?

Slack packaging and an obsession with character have turned American presidential campaigns into contests of image. And Ross, despite misgivings, appear ready to follow. The result may be that voters in both countries will be deprived of ideological choices or any real debate on the issues. — 44





An Economic Time Bomb

A group of the most influential economists in the United States—and in some cases, the world—has thrown a ticking time bomb into the American presidential election campaign. If it explodes with the force that some analysts predict, it may have a profound effect on the issue of public debt in Canada, as well. In a letter to the President, Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan and 535 members of Congress, six Nobel Prize winners and 94 other leading economists called for an additional \$56 billion a year in federal spending to lift the economy out of three years of stagnant growth and ease unemployment. They added that because labor and capital resources are lying idle, it is "appropriate to add to the deficit."

Some of the signers said that, even a few months ago, they would have opposed any measure that increased the deficit, but they claimed that even though recovery seems to be under way, it is so fragile that it may collapse without additional public spending. And they called on Washington to ease the money for the states to enable them to launch public works and education programs. Alan Meltzer, an economist at Carnegie Mellon Institute and a scholar at the conservative American Enterprise Institute, said *The New York Times*: "The right question for economists to ask is how to use resources productively, particularly idle resources, and if that leads to an increase in the deficit, so be it."

The signers restated their concern over the size of the deficit and they stressed that when a strong recovery is finally under way, Washington should reduce its stimulus to funding ways of reducing it. Few analysts would dispute the need to correct the spending imbalance. But stinging arguments over how best to deal with deficits during a severe worldwide recession have paralyzed many Western governments, preventing effective action on any front. Others have used deficit-fighting to disguise politically radical agendas that they did not have the courage to acknowledge. But governments face two clear and conflicting pressures: to cut deficits and stimulate an economic recovery. At the same time, as the economists' letter illustrates, there is absolutely no consensus on a strategy for dealing with those pressures in a long-term, responsible fashion—only short-term measures to prevent outright disaster. Nor is there even a coherent attempt to develop a core, acceptable and effective plan of action.

The great promise that the letter holds, mostly because of the unshakable credentials of most of its orthodox signers, is that it may force a real debate on the great economic issues that touch all of our lives, directly and often with great pain. If the letter leads governments, businesses, think-tanks and individuals in occupations to throw off their ideological shackles and begin a new examination of all economic theories, it will be worth a lot more than the paper it is written on.

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's

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LETTERS

Southern exposure

I am appalled by the Canadian media's continued commitment to the American star system rather than to the creation of a Canadian star system. Certainly, the controversy surrounding the recently released film *Babe* Jackson and other films of its ilk is noteworthy and even noteworthy. But I question the value of "killer movies," your nine-page full-page cover devoted to this undercooked and overhyped work of B-grade pulp (March 30). What will it take to get our own talented actors, including Valerie Buhagiar, Pascale Marpet and Rebecca Jenkins, onto the cover of *English* Canada's only national women's magazine? Maybe we will have to wait until these actors stop making critically acclaimed films in Canada and start making related and useless movies south of the border.

Jeremy Paulson
Toronto

For years, Hollywood films have cast Germans, Japanese, Indians, for people, schizophrenics and heterosexual males as homicidal maniacs, without much protest. Now, a film such as *Blame* (which, which portrays a fictional woman as a possible murderer, makes it seem like the ecological balance of the world is in danger of shifting. Do those who protest such portrayals not realize that their dissent only serves to bring customers to the theatres—and, in the case of *Blame* (which, in the case of \$18 million for the first weekend alone?

Jon Satter
London, Ont.

I was amazed that you concluded "Killer movies" by saying that among the Oscar nominees for best picture, "Only *Bambi* and *Mr. Bean*, a cartoonish tale, sounds a chord of sociological optimism." *Bambi* and *Mr. Bean*, like many fairy tales, is really a story about the combined horror and innocence we feel for the dark side of human nature, and perhaps it should serve to remind us that Hollywood's current spite of killer movies may be eye-opening, but a lovely new.

Cathy Stanton,
Atari Mass.

Winners and losers

In his letter of response to "Devolution at Large" (Cover, March 14), Bruce Robertson omits one obvious fact when he laments that Ontario people in with "other conquered races" ("Bringing the gas," April 6). Native people in this country were never conquered



Scene from *Basic Instinct*: 'overhears'

The leading governments at the time negotiators in a nation-to-nation basis. And by the way, native people belong to themselves, each other and the land.

Alan Murphy,
Toronto

The concept of native self-government seems to be a complex one. One particular area that concerns me is revenue. Your article states that native leaders will want the government to provide benefits previously in the same way that it now distributes money among poorer provinces, to cover the shortfall of money generated by their own tax system. It appears that they want to have their cake and eat it too. What these native leaders choose to ignore is that previous that receive transfer payments are subject to Canadian federal laws—including the payment of taxes. I say, forget it. Why should the taxpayers of this country pay for native self-government and also be expected not to interfere with native affairs?

David G. White,
Victoria

'What a howler'

When I read Gerald L. Caplan's letter of March 20, "Et tu, U.S.A.?" which complained about columnist Barbara Amiel and Diane Francis criticizing Ontario's New Democratic Party government, my reaction was one of utter disbelief. What a howler, to fact, Amiel and Francis have been guilty of understatement. The NDP government is trying to turn business into one big welfare system. They have an at-will employment relationship with unions, they are economic disaster, they are saving off the bank they are sitting on, and they have blamed everyone and everything else except for themselves. How many experiments do we have to have in this world to realize that socialism is the harbinger of unemployment, the words in the garden.

James Menzies,
Toronto

As a subscriber of many years, I am shocked by your featured picture Barbara Amiel and Diane Francis. They show no attempt to be just, evenhanded or balanced. This tendency to show concern in human and compassionate screen puts them back into the Middle Ages—a time when the most respectable creatures were carried out by the Establishment in a deluge of property. There is nothing wrong with an enlightened, controlled free-market economy. But going to television is just as cynical as radio censorship. To refer to Ontario NDP Premier Bob Rae's government as "communist" is a dirty and convenient misnomer.

Joseph Michael,
Toronto

Unsatisfied Scots

In "Scotland's separatist angst" (World, March 14), you reached to mention supporters of Scots' desire for more control over their affairs: what they perceive to be their share of the country's wealth and resources. Most of Scotland's North Sea oil wealth goes towards prosperity in southern England. The huge revenue from North Sea oil is shared also of the job of which Scots feel deprived. The admission poll tax, which Margaret Thatcher's government imposed on Scotland as a test, is yet another example of the inequities that causes Scottish resentment. I feel Scots would be satisfied with what Quebec already has.

Margaret Pickett,
Kitchener, Ont.

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A BLENDING OF ART AND MACHINE

LETTERS

Censuring the censors

Such issues as abortion and homosexuality need to be explored on television, and I am sick to death of the moral minority attempting to dictate what is "clean, wholesome and family-oriented" ("Prime-time purges," *Teleview*, March 2). These issues are here, today, and must be addressed. If you want to hurt a blind eye, change the channel, stop buying newspapers and put your head in the sand. I look forward to the day when my children are old enough to discuss such issues. The home is a perfect forum to promote tolerance, love and understanding for others, their lifestyles and certainly their religious convictions. I feel that not only do television networks have an obli-

gation to explore social issues, but sponsoring companies have an equal responsibility to fund those shows.

Julie M. Senter,
High River, Alta.

While there are several unsettling implications contained in "Prime-time purges," it is heartening to hear that Canadian TV programming is not required to the degree that American shows are by the reluctance of advertisers to be associated with controversial subject matter. But how soon would that change if we saw in this country the kind of conservative pressure groups so skilled at using economic threats to influence their agenda of blandness in the United States? How many topics are either ignored or treated lightly to avoid offending such opponents? And how often do Canadian producers succumb to subtle regulations to

tone down their material and thus assure a sale in the United States? We should not become smug over what may be only superficial differences. The greatest dangers to free expression are often more insidious than overt.

Jeffrey Diamond,
Scarborough, Ont.

Does more profanity make a better television program? Does real life concern only profanity, violence, obscenity and "side-boobing"? I guess that I am still naive enough to believe that planting defoliant is as real and worthwhile as throwing mud at clean walls. But I guess there is a cause for the free-speechers to espouse through television: they can direct obscenity into the ears of grandchildren and grandchildren.

Tiffed Perfid
Kiloway, Man.

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LETTERS

'A foul blow'

Please do not doubt that Quebec will separate if the rest of Canada does not erect a highway ("Canada without Quebec," *Canada*, March 2). Do not forget that the 1960 referendum on sovereignty was decided by only a 66-44 ratio, and that many of those who voted "no" did so because they believed that Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's promises to renew federalism. Instead, Quebec received a foul blow—perpetration of the Constitution without the province's consent or approval. To add to that, the attempt to make amends with the Meech Lake accord was also denied Quebec. Three strikes on the Constitution, and Canada will be lost.

Mervin Salvatore,
San-Fey, Que.

The right to choose

The recent legal persecution of the 14-year-old girl from Dublin who wanted to abort is a story that was successful in the result of a rape to get another example of why religious groups should never be allowed to project their beliefs into the public arena ("A young girl's agony," *World*, March 9). The sheer brutality

of the Irish court's decision is almost unconceivable, as is the ideological blindness of the pro-lifers who value abstract rules over common sense. What you failed to note in your article, however, is that not only have anti-abortion forces in Ireland criminalized abortion, but they have banned free speech for those who advise women about abortion. What freedom will be taken away next?

Dr. Pat Moriarty,
Winthrop

A royal mess

Alan Fetheringham has messed the obvious integrative solution in his March 2 column, "Will Elizabeth a field the throne?" In Las Vegas he says while we in Canada cheer the Royal Baring, Prince Charles, for our own. Presumably, like Dr. Feltz, I do not care a whit for the royals, but Canada has a serious cash-flow problem. By my count, we would gain one king and lose one governor general and 10 lieutenant governors. Even better, with both Dr. and Miss Ottawa would hardly supply Paris in the world's centre of high fashion.

Kenneth William Thompson,
St. John's, Nfld.

I was amazed to read the suggestive remarks that your readers directed at Allan Fetheringham's column ("Fetheringham twice-brass,"

Letters, March 9). I turn to the back page of *Maclean's* to see as it comes up—to read the doctor's truth, but surely to see that Alan Fetheringham's latest creation, like art in capitalism, is truly the king of outrageous. Hang on to him.

F. H. Kim Kroll,
Lakefield, Ont.

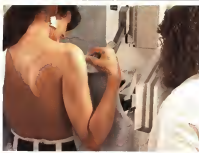
A case of tunnel vision

In "Days of big decisions" (*World*, March 16), former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas claims that he might have died had he sought help in Canada for his cancer problem. And in his state of the union address, President George Bush was also critical of the Canadian health-care system. Both men seem to forget that if one is financially able, the best care is at your disposal in the United States. But this is not the case for the millions of poverty-stricken Americans who are refused treatment.

Don J. Swigonski,
Berne, Ont.

Breasts and risks

Unfortunately, because of the whims of the mass media, which go along with the notion of ideal female beauty, it would seem that success in 1992 is synonymous only with large



Patient having a mammogram: society's 'large-breasts-or-bust attitude'

breasts. A model you featured in "Beauty and the breast," your March 3 cover package, said that she had breast implants because she felt "more womanly" with large breasts. The attitude is understandable in an industry that treats women like mannequins and values only women who can adhere to the latest in ideal

body proportions. Anyone who believes the large-breasts-or-bust credo has yet to discover that success and being womanly have more to do with the reality and warmth a woman exudes than with her cup size. And it must, definitely, have nothing to do with the health hazards of implants and large hospital bills. The

risk is simply too great and the benefits too meagre.

Sandra Stephenson,
Vancouver

Given the serious and informative nature of "Beauty and the breast," I found your use of cleavage on the cover both surprising and disappointing. The photograph detracts from the seriousness of the story by pandering to, and helping to perpetuate, Western society's breast obsession and its mindless effects as described in the article. In the war of style versus substance, style definitely won this battle. You could have made a more ethical choice.

Robert J. Morris,
Amherst, Ont.

On the basis of your March 9 cover articles, it would seem that the main reason for women to undergo unnecessary plastic surgery is to boost their self-esteem. Well, I, for one, pity those women who believe that fitting into a size 24-28 bra is the answer to their problems. What is even sadder is the probability that these same women have children with whom they are enjoying this legacy of superficiality. These people do not need a surgeon to fix their bodies—they need a good session of counselling to fix their heads.

Billy Anderson,
Waterloo, Ont.

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OPENING NOTES

Sour notes disturb Green Gables, baseball breaks 100, and a movie man tells it how it was

SCORECARD

BIG-LEAGUE PRICES



Recession or not, a Canadian longer last year—baseball season openings are this week—will be hit by an average increase of 14 per cent over last year.

A price index from the *Times Morning Star* in Chicago, translated into Canadian dollars, shows that the average cost at the 26 ball parks is up from \$89.46 last year to \$102.35. That is for a family of four buying tickets, a hotdog and a soft drink apiece, two beers, two caps, two programs and parking.

The Toronto Blue Jays remain in first place on the price list at \$134.27, up 9.4 per cent from \$122.73. Montreal's Expos are seventh, at \$109.55, up 6.1 per cent from \$103.67. The Cincinnati Reds are the cheapest at \$86. Prices at New York City's Yankee Stadium, in second place at \$126.97, climbed by 10 per cent. But at the neighboring New York Mets (123), prices rose by only 3.6 per cent to \$120.88.

Some cross-border favorites

- 5 Boston \$122.45 (+6.8%)
- 10 Detroit \$88.72 (-2.5%)
- 20 Minnesota \$99.65 (+6.4%)
- 22 Seattle \$84.33 (+4.8%)

WANTED: TOP-DRAWER REFORMITES

Whether Reform party candidates picked for the federal election expected in 2003, and two more being chosen this week, there are scores more slots outside Quebec to be filled. Party leader Preston Manning is encouraging associations to recruit what his press secretary, Ronald Wood, describes as "hardworking people." And Wood claims that "there are some extremely high-profile individuals who are

Manning: scores of slots to be filled



Francine: right of centre but not a party person

chewing it over." Among those sounded are Michael Ondaatje and *Maclean's* *Post* editor Diane Francis Wood, who has known Francis for years, and that he is politically uncommitted over a beer in Calgary recently but she considers running for Reform. But Francis, who describes herself as "right of centre" but not a party person, said that a couple of "topgers and backers" also raised the prospect. She declined. "I really love my job," said Francis, and, saying, journalists are "not the right personality type," to follow a party line. "We are paid to be lone voices expressing views, we who are paid for our opinions," Francis said. "I tend to think I'm pretty much a solo act."

Anne mute? Unimaginable!

For 27 summers, Anne of Green Gables, the musical, has been a sell-out success at the annual Charlottetown Festival, New, a co-sponsor of dispute theorists to silence the adaptations of the Lucy Maud Montgomery story at PEI's Confederation Centre of the Arts. The star cast follows a hit-making plan by festival administrator Wayne Kavanagh to replace the summer singing season of the annual *Edifice* orchestra with a symphony. Composer Norman Campbell, who is co-owner of performance rights and songwriter Donald Bennett, noted to "close down the show" if Campbell carried out his plan. But a \$40,000 symphony has already been purchased to replace the sea musicians, whose bills would be over \$40,000 for 12 weeks from early June. Campbell, citing a song in his musical urging Anne to "stay as you are," suggested that the lyrics should be changed to "Anne, stay as you are—or else."



Anne: symphonic music

PHOTO BY JENNIFER

Yesteryear's woman

In a most moving respect over 25 years, they could scarcely have been any less, at grasping, together. But when Kodak's Heppner and Spencer Tracy first met in the 1940 film *Woman of the Year*, Louis B. Mayer, a vice president of MGM Studios, found Heppner's character too self-assured—and demanded a rewrite of the film's final scene. Now 50 years after co-writing the

Tracy (left), Heppner, getting out of the kitchen once again



Tracy and Hepburn, getting out of the kitchen once again

Somewhat pro Canada

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, defending his Quebec mission last week against suggestions that they are not compensating for individuals in their home provinces, said to reporters that, on the contrary, they have been speaking out vigorously for Canada. He singled out Consumer and Corporate Affairs Minister Pierre Robit as one who "made an extraordinary speech, a marvellous, moving speech." The minister's office was unable to provide transcripts of his most recent Quebec speech on the subject. But an aide said that they were based on a "rough" speech in Quebec City on March 18, 1991. What Robit said and then included praise for Mulroney as the prime minister who has been "the most loyal and ardent in his defence of Quebec's interests," a declaration that Robit wrote in Ottawa "primarily to serve Quebec's interests," said, on donations. "We must be honest and admit that, despite its faults, it has brought several benefits to Quebec over the course of the years."

TAXING TIMES

With the looming April 30 deadline for filing income tax returns, it may be useful to know that Canada ranks 10th among the Group of Seven industrial countries in the share of its total national income (gross domestic product) collected in all kinds of taxes by all levels of government in 1991. The data that lists taxes—federal, provincial and local—collected between direct federal and four taxes as much proportionally as Canada for social security programs. But Canada leads the field in taxing individuals—mainly income tax—collecting 54 of every \$100 of GDP in that way. The G7 helped over the take in the same rate in indirect taxes, which include sales and so-called on taxes, from \$12.90 in 1990. Current source department figures as percentages of GDP.

Taxes	Canada	USA	Britain	France	Germany	Italy	Japan
Individual	140	167	114	63	100	123	76
Indirect	140	77	145	137	126	119	80
Social	5.8	3.2	6.7	20.3	17.2	14.0	8.1
Corporate	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.4	1.7	2.6	5.4
TOTAL	363.7	316.8	347	442	415	411	395.5

*Canada and U.S. data include neither other tax revenues

PASSAGES

CONVICTED: Organized-crime boss John Gotti, 51, in 12 counts of murder and racketeering that could lead to his imprisonment for life, by a federal jury in New York City. Known as the Teflon Don for his ability to avoid successful prosecution, Gotti finally succumbed to mounting evidence and the emotional testimony of his longtime boss Salvatore (Sammy the Bull) Gravano, 47. Gravano testified that Gotti, ordered to alter the testimony in the Valachi trial, ordered the 1985 murder of Paul Castellano, mob boss in take over the Gambino family. Gotti faces sentencing on June 23.

DEED: Canadian journalist Adam Marshall, 62, of complications from emphysema, in a Toronto hospital. Scottish-born Marshall emigrated to Canada with his parents in 1942. After studying engineering at McGill University in Montreal, he worked for that city's *World and Gazette* newspapers before joining *Maclean's* in 1945. He held a variety of editorial positions at the magazine for five years, then worked for *Imperial Oil* Ltd.'s public relations department until he retired in 1970.

REMARKED: To an Ottawa hospital for a 30-day Orthopaedic treatment. Governor General's Award-winning author Roger Caron, 55, after city police charged him with night robbing of robbery. His Go-By, which was

the musician wrote in 1978, described his life in prison, where he spent 24 years. John Go-By, Caron's novel, John about a pilot to assassinate. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, and through a newspaper account of a gentlemanly act, were also best-sellers.

DEED: Anatomic artist Paul Herold, 94, perhaps best remembered for his 1950s stage *Portrait of a Woman* Victor Laskin in the 1940s. Canadian of cardiac arrest, in Santa Monica, Calif., hospital. Did not live, three strokes and heart failure, Herold's condition in remote home. As well as *Canadian*, which also starred Humphrey Bogart and Ingrid Bergman, Herold's credits included *New Yorker* and *Art* Times.

Trouble on the line

Since the breakup of the Soviet Union, Canadians have eagerly reached out by telephone to friends and families in the newly independent states. When their phone bills proved to be outrageous, many protested to their phone companies. The officials at Telelobe Canada Inc., which handles overseas calls, say that it will be months before new country codes for each of the 12 nations are assigned by the International Telecommunications Union. In the meantime, Telelobe plans to renege the U.S.S.R. destination as CIS, the new Commonwealth of Independent States. That is unlikely to satisfy callers to the now-125 countries of Latvia, Lithuania and Georgia. Said Anna Sperdova of the London National Federation in Canada: "ITU S.S.R. is mainly wrong; this is actually wrong."

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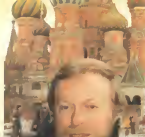
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ANOTHER VIEW



A nasty lack of a sense of humor

BY CHARLES MCKENNA

People are starting to ask "whether Canadian humor" again and it's not funny. The same stems from *Frank* magazine, its satirical exploitation of the Prime Minister's daughter, the Prime Minister's response and the response to that.

Confronted with humor that goes on for, Canadian opinion makers can't really hold for someone to believe. They're covering a sensitive joke into a question of public policy, something that could only happen here.

When *Frank* published its infamous Caroline Mulroney item last September, it was greeted with a curious mixture of outrage and silence. Some commentators went so far as to say the attack shows our organizations around the story, believing that they were under obligation to make it funny.

If that scandalous seems delicate, it follows on a long tradition. Typically, Canada's mainstream media steer clear of scandal, scandal is a show, anyway, and it surfaces in the United States or Britain. Then we chuckle back over the excesses of the foreign press, while at the same time making sure none of those excesses go unpunished.

In fact, the Canadian began to get a very laxer approach to Canada. The Prime Minister's daughter became a sensation in the British press, the London newspapers came out with a story, and that, in turn, brought her to the attention of the Canadian media.

Whether the original *Frank* item carried national media attention can be debated. But there is no question that when the Prime Minister's daughter became a sensation in national attention, the same media did not know how to deal with it. It was an issue, to be sure, because the Prime Minister was involved, but what kind of issue was it?

It is the kind of thing that makes you wish we had a royal family to carry the responsibility for being scandalous. The British media never ask what kind of an issue it is when something happens to a royal. It's a *PRIVILEGE* issue and a *PRIVILEGE* issue.

Charles McKenna is a columnist with *The Ottawa Citizen*.

Only in Canada, perhaps, could a tasteless joke in a small-circulation magazine be converted into a gun-control issue

happens to a royal. It's a *PRIVILEGE* issue and a *PRIVILEGE* issue. The British politicians immediately begin saying people whose fault they think it is, and the people who have to run the country are left alone.

Here the media had to decide what the story was about before making the old *Rollercoaster* and looking for the appropriate spokesperson to make the appropriate comment. Who should comment on a Prime Minister's daughter? He "wanted to take a gun and go down there and do serious damage" to the editors of *Frank* magazine?

Reporters were dispatched to talk to the person-as-the-story. They covered the mother of the *Frank* article, the Prime Minister's daughter, "liberalized." They went to gun-control advocates. Only in Canada, perhaps, could a tasteless joke in a small-circulation magazine be converted into a gun-control issue.

When humor becomes a matter of public policy, the whole question arises. Since the satirical magazine is the creation of neither royal commission it is well not to ask it too loudly. Still, one of the most interesting responses to the *Frank* controversy comes from the former leader of the *Minutemen* party. Writing last week in *The Ottawa Citizen*,

Charles McKenna declined to defend *Frank*. Instead, he called the magazine's staff "a small band of sentimentalists, magicians and hucksters."

Inventor of an election platform that once called for a phased-in conversion to left-hand drive, trucks and buses first, McKenna seemed a potential ally of being serious. So why he was asked, wasn't he an *Frank* supporter? "I would have liked to have been on their side," McKenna answered, from his home in Montreal, "but I just can't." He objects to the magazine's tone. "They're naive," he said. "There's nothing wrong with being naive, if you can be funny and mean."

Funny is the key. "It just doesn't make me laugh," McKenna said. Terry Mosher, probably Canada's best satirist, didn't laugh either, but he is more inclined to be sympathetic to the magazine. Seven years ago, the cartoonist, better known as Aslan, founded a magazine called *Zed* that was to produce funny satirical. For various reasons, moving from the publishing climate, *Zed* never got off the ground. Perhaps because of that, Mosher has tried to help *Frank* out. The cover of the April 2 issue, for example, features an Aslan drawing of the Prime Minister as a crying baby, one of a series of cartoons regarding the magazine to the controversial circumstances in which it exists.

"I feel because I have an interest in satire that they should be encouraged," Mosher said when asked how he was feeling about *Frank* these days. He declines going "anywhere" related somehow to public performance, and he says, with respect to the Canadian idea, that the magazine "went over the edge this time." Mosher is the magazine's executive producer; we're growing up.

Canadian has been criticized in the past, as humor is in other fields of endeavor, but not being willing to go to the edge. However, we see one example of what happens when someone does. The edge looks across the closer we get to it. Humor is supposed to make life more bearable, and Charles McKenna helps by looking at the edge in another way. When we get to the edge," he said, "we go to the States."

We have missed too a lot of comic talent in the United States. Does that mean that satire is downed in this country or simply that we have to stop taking humor so seriously?

As another leading Canadian satirist, Mordecai Richler, is today at, some Canadians seem unwilling to let writers be dealt with by their readers and other factors of the marketplace. Instead, they want the writer to become involved, to reward or, more likely, punish. But most Canadians are more far-removed than that. On the letters pages of the *Minutemen*, both *Frank* and the Prime Minister are attacked for venturing too close to the edge. Many have criticized Richler, many others have attacked those who talk of leaving his words.

Perhaps all of this will help us to arrive at a working definition of freedom of expression and a better sense of where the edge is. Meanwhile, evidence of the need for satire is all around us.

A COSTLY FACEOFF

**AFTER THE PLAYERS
STRIKE, THE NHL FACES
A STRUGGLE TO RESTORE
THE FAITH OF ITS FANS**

For the first time in its 75 years, all of the National Hockey League's players were on strike and the title of the proud institution was the subject of national debate. Suddenly Wayne Gretzky's salary, playing-odd revenues and the mood in the sports bars compiled for the situation of citizens with pensions meeting on the Constitution and the perilous state of the economy.

But by week's end powerful financial and emotional forces were at work in the hockey world, aimed at a quick settlement this week. Behind the scenes, a group of owners was working to bring about an agreement that would end Gretzky's role of spring to continue. Their names included Calgary owner Morris Green, owner of the Minnesota North Stars, who is close to his players and advocates medical reforms of the way owners and players would operate under a new contract (page 100). For players, the breakdown of talks threatened playoff bonuses and the championship dreams of the division-winning New York Rangers, Vancouver Canucks, Detroit Red Wings and Montreal Canadiens. And whatever the outcome of a Monday meeting of the NHL board of governors in New York City, the strike increasingly changes the relationship between players and owners.

A more immediate concern was that the costly lockout denied millions of Canadians the game they love at a time when their interest is at its peak. For fans, the playoffs are eight weeks of sudden-death hockey, the season's hot moment after a regular season of take-home opportunities. For the players, the playoffs are their greatest test, their reason for competing. Englebert Robert Tuck, a 35-year-old defenseman with the Vancouver Canucks: "The lock-out is every one of us in saying that in saying. The playoffs are coming up again here. We should be on the ice, playing hockey. We want to play, playing this game because we love it, and that's the bottom line." But the players still want to win.

Results: Despite a 50-per-cent increase in their average salaries over the past two years, the players were restless last week as they led not only to create a new collective agreement, but also to forge an entirely new business relationship with their employers. Before the negotiation broke down, the sides had agreed on limited free agency, a four-year extension to the regular season, increases in playoff bonuses and the amount the

teams will contribute to the pension pool. During several meetings after the strike began, NHL president John Ziegler and NHL Players Association executive director Bob Goodenow met in Toronto to explore ways of settling key unresolved issues. Among them were licensing arrangements, particularly the owners' attempt to gain a share of \$11 million in player association revenues from trading cards, the owners' proposed use of pension surpluses, and the length of the collective agreement.

Of the 564 members of the players association, the one with the most to lose from a strike was Wayne Gretzky. The reigning Los Angeles King commands the league's highest salary—\$3.1 million annually—and he stood to earn \$14,866.67 per day of the regular season. As well, since his trade from Edmonton in 1985, the Great One has developed a close friendship and business relationship with the Kings' owner, Bruce McNall. Together, they own race teams, a majority of the Toronto Argonauts football club and rare sports memorabilia. But Gretzky maintained his solidarity with his teammates.

Gretzky said that the players' long-term desire to strike would not be popular. "I understand where the fans are coming from," he said. "I know there'll be no sympathy for our side. There'll be no sympathy for the owners. There'll be no sympathy either way. The sport will be tarnished." For Gretzky, the issue comes down to taking a stand to protect hockey players' interests in the future. He cited the problems faced by past giants, including his friend Gordie Howe and Montreal Canadiens star Jean Beliveau, who played 25 and 18 years, respectively, but whose pension now pays them each only \$123,000 a year. Said Gretzky: "I hear older players complaining because, when they played 30 years, they didn't have a good pension plan. We are not going to be completing 30 years from now. We are doing it now."

At their scheduled home game on April 2 against the Calgary Flames,

**'There'll be
no sympathy
for our side.
There'll be
no sympathy
for the
owners.
The sport will
be tarnished.'**

—Los Angeles Kings
captain Wayne Gretzky



the Vancouver Canucks had planned a homecoming ceremony to honor the team's first ever Stanley Cup champion. The Canucks, whose year of mediocrity began with the strike, in 1976 was interrupted only by the team's colorful finish as Stanley Cup runners-up in 1981, badly defeated true contender status this season. That, says Trevor Linden, the 21-year-old Canucks captain and leading scorer, made the decision to go on strike even worse. Outside the Pacific Coliseum after the strike deadline had passed, the six-foot, four-inch native of Medicine Hat, Alta., who earns \$800,000 a year, stood among a throng of fans and, in the crowd of Howe and Bobby Hull,

signed autographs until the last youngster was happy. But Linden was not. He and the other Canucks had just begun the first strike of their lives. "We are over worked to be in this situation," he told *McGraw-Hill*. "It's difficult for everyone to accept."

Claims: The trademarked name was particularly irksome to Linden. He said that his concerns were not primarily about the amount of money gained from selling the rights to use the players' images on the cards—estimated to be \$11 million annually. It was that the players association used those revenues to fund its operations. By placing a claim over those revenues,

National Notes

TALKING UP A REFERENDUM

Signalling a sharp shift in federal strategy, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney said that Canadians will be given the final say on constitutional reform through a referendum—or even in early federal elections—should the federal government and the provinces fail to reach an agreement. The proposal for a national referendum drew support from across the country: Quebec members of Mulroney's cabinet and from Reform party leader Preston Manning. Mulroney told a Thursday night Quebec caucus meeting that the referendum could be held as early as June.

AN ABORTION CONTROVERSY

The government of the Northwest Territories ordered an independent inquiry into the abortion procedures at Yellowknife's St. John's Hospital after James de Winter complained that they had been subjected to unnecessary pain from abortions performed without anesthesia. The territory's health minister, Tony Whitford, stressed his portfolio as a result of the controversy.

CHARGES AGAINST AN MP

Quebec provincial police charged Conservative MP Denis Prévost, 35, with three counts of procuring sex with males under 18, two counts of sexual assault and one count of breach of trust. Prévost, a former journalist, represents the central Quebec riding of St-Maurice, a seat formerly held by Liberal leader Jean Charest, who plans to run there in the next general election.

NEW GUN RULES

Anti-gun lobbyists welcomed new government regulations from Federal Justice Minister Kim Campbell that limit the magazine capacity of handguns, semi-automatic rifles and shotguns. The proposed rules—which are intended to strengthen gun-control measures passed by Parliament last year—also require that firearms be locked when they are stored or displayed.

MICHAEL CASHEL, AFTERMATH

Douglas Howe, the last of five Christian Brothers connected to sex crimes at the now-defunct Mount Cashel orphanage in St. John's, Nfld., was found guilty on seven of 14 counts of physically and sexually abusing boys from 1971 to 1976—years during which Ronny, now 50, served as supervisor. The Congregation of Christian Brothers announced that the 56-year-old orphanage will be razed and the land sold. The proceeds will provide counselling for the victims of abuse.

'No one ever wanted to be in this situation. It's difficult for everyone to accept.'

—TREVOR LINDEN,
Vancouver Canucks captain

'We are hockey players first. That is our life. There is nothing I like more than being on the ice in the playoffs'

—DUY CARBONNEAU,
Montreal Canadiens captain



LINDEN



CARBONNEAU

ties in their final offer, the team owners appeared to be trying to undercut the union. "What has to be remembered," Linden said, "is that three years ago those rights were worth only \$400,000. Since we have taken it on home, licensing has blossomed."

Guy Carbonneau, 33, is the epitome of his team, the Canadiens. The seven-time captain from Saginaw, Mich., on the North Shore of the St. Lawrence River, combines tenacious defense and a surprising forward slash with a less-than-constrained view of the waning tradition of his team. Now the captain, Carbonneau is paid \$325,000, and he understands that people are puzzled by his decision to go on strike against such a top-grossing employer. But money, he said, is not the issue that caused the stalemate. "A lot of money issues were settled last week, like free agency and that sort of thing," Carbonneau said in an interview. "It was left about the way it was before—we got on our feet, and a lot of the guys were happy."

Environment: "What would make the guys happy is to play hockey. We are hockey players first," Carbonneau said. "That is our life. There is nothing I like more than being on the ice in the playoffs. That's where the

excitement is, but so is our life. We have worked all winter to get to this point. And the Stanley Cup—that is the greatest feeling in the world for a hockey player." Carbonneau said he hoped that, by standing up for themselves, the players were finally earning a

partnership with owners in the hockey business. "In 30 years," he added, "hockey players are either going to go. Thanks to those old guys for being tough," or they're going to say, "Those guys were screwed down too." We will have to wait and see."

When the NHL strike became official last week, there was little public evidence of a spirit of compromise. As Vancouver president Pat Quinn remarked recently, "The front are driven in corners." But former Montreal star Beliveau, whose brilliant run career was marked at such by his grace as by his talent, watched the proceedings from a distance with a note of cautious optimism about the future. New ten-year president of the Canadiens, Beliveau said that the league needed to work with the players association, not against it. He said that some owners may have been slow to recognize that, but they are changing. "It is important that both sides present their cases strongly," he said, "but it's just as important that they understand the other guy's position." On reflection, he added, that might also be useful advice for Quebec and Canada.

JAMES DENISON with JILL GOUGH
in Montreal

A BOLD PLAN FOR RENEWAL

AN OWNER PLEADS FOR AN EQUAL PARTNERSHIP

Former Calgary shipping executive Donald Stern Green may not emerge from the current NHL players strike with a reputation as one of the league's most progressive owners. Green, who runs the Minnesota North Stars, had a private lunch with all players the day after the strike began last week and, later, passed them in a game of basketball at a local fitness club. He runs the North Stars' business affairs from a basement office in the Mid-South Center in Minneapolis, Minn. In a conversation with *Wired*'s senior writer D'Arcy J. Zuck, he offered an owner's perspective. Excerpts.

There were no major outstanding issues that were significant enough to call a strike over. The real purpose of the strike was to establish [National Hockey League Players Association executive director] Bob Goodenow as the representative of all the players. But there is a strike, and the purpose this is that it establishes the NHLPA as an entity for the owners to negotiate with as a partner.

A strong union is a better partner than a weak union, and there are organizations that the owners and players need to explore as partners. There are phenomenal organizations in Europe and in Asia that require not just a part-time or temporary approach but a major one-business effort. There must be a sure organization that is owned 55-50 by the players and the league. Both take the risk, put up the seed capital and share in the profits.

Market: In Europe, hockey is played everywhere. There is an aggressive, strong, and organized owners to have 46 games. Maybe some of those games could be played in Europe to stimulate the market. There's so much population over there and so many people that know hockey very well. Europe is a potentially very big business, but it can't be done as a video.

The key word is trust. It is a very, very important word to trust from our leader, John Ziegler, and their leader, Bob Goodenow. There is no reason not to have trust because both sides have the same objective. Every single player, every single line, every single owner, has a desire to make the game better.



Green: "Normally, a strike is a failure."

"Hockey in Canada is in danger of being extinct as we know it. The players don't want to hear the truth."

—Vancouver Canucks coach Pat Quinn

"It's about being owned. The owners have owned the players for too long."

—Detroit Red Wings right-winger Ray Cravner

Nobody has a destructive attitude. If the league doesn't have a better product and the players make more money.

The difficulty is that because of past misunderstandings many players wondered whether the owners were telling them the truth. They felt the owners had hidden money. Well, it happens not to be true. In the past couple years, salaries have increased on average \$8

per cent. Our own salaries last year increased \$3 million. That led us pretty badly. It took us into a loss this year.

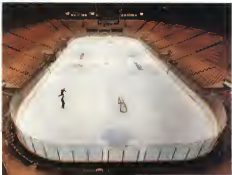
A few years ago almost every team made money. The big markets made more money and the little markets made less. Now, only the big markets are making money. The league needs a formula where there is some sharing of revenue so that a team in Winnipeg can afford the same quality of players as the New York Rangers or Los Angeles Kings. There's got to be some system that allows Winnipeg to keep its best players so they can be competitive. In a small market, on five out of seven of the Canadian teams, we need to be sure that there is stability in far as our costs go.

One of the ideas we have to explore is letting the league, rather than the teams, run the conference finals and Stanley Cup final. Last year, the North Stars were at the Stanley Cup final. Nobody in the world expected us to be there. So we had an audience of millions that we didn't control or measure. The boards around the rink had a huge increase in value because, for those games, millions of people were watching. But we never had an opportunity to do anything commercially to take advantage of that.

Sponsors: If the league runs those games, they could make a deal well in advance with various sponsors. The signs in the building, at the entrance, and, well, we'd sell on the basis of ad sales. The league can do that because it knows it is going to have those conference and Cup finals. None of the teams know. If the league took over and was able to get far more revenue out of television and advertising, that revenue could be distributed among all the teams. There are many common opportunities that can be explored. Most of the big markets agree with the idea because very few of the

big markets get to the final anyway.

Normally a strike is a failure. It's terrible for everybody. But if we learned some lessons, and get a better feeling of what the players really have in mind and they have a better feeling of what we have in mind, we can develop that trust and use this as a platform. It would be a crime not to develop a partnership to explore new sources of revenue for us all.



A HIGH COST

THE BIG SCORES ARE SETTLED OFF-ICE

WHEN NHL players went on strike last week, there was an immediate and powerful threat to sports quickly in Chicago, the Plains stood only an outside chance of making it into the playoffs. But most Calgary ice owners and staff knew that, without the Stanley Cup, their profits ranched under. Jukka Varty, a 27-year-old cocktail waitress at the suburban Steeles Village Inn, said that she was assigned to making less money. "I work at a place with a sports screen," she said, "and on playoffs means fewer people and less work and tips for me." Indeed, Varty was just one of countless individuals in 22 cities in Canada and the United States whose earnings hung in the balance as a weekend of fights continued.

Overall, the money on the bargaining table was staggering. Seven provinces, especially those who saw their own arena, saw a substantial portion of their annual income during the playoffs. Even in the regular season, the Boston Bruins take in almost \$500,000 in ticket sales for a sold-out game. Add that to the \$3.9 million from radio-broadcast rights at the Boston

Garden and \$11.9 million from local TV, and the Bruins take in almost \$40 million before the season ends. Ticket buyers, advertisers and TV networks all pay a premium for the playoffs.

The CBC television network was another serious witness to the last-ditch attempts to settle the dispute. The network had committed to as many as 156 hours of prime-time coverage during the playoffs, with advertising rates doubling to the top premium for the final round. The projected revenue was \$60 million. Network executives knew that cancellation of

the playoffs would fill week-night slots with sports—and that Hockey Night in Canada, one of the nation's top-rated shows, would give way to less lucrative broadcasts.

Because of the timing of the strike, the players stood to lose only playoff and postseason bonuses. Salaries, which average \$379,000, are paid during the regular season. But players' association head Bob Goodenow admitted players that a long strike raised the prospect of a lockout by the owners at the start of next season. Said Guy Carbonneau of the Montreal Canadiens: "The owners are going to be upset, and they are probably going to strike us, too."

His president John Ziegler downplayed the financial aspect of cancelled playoffs. He said that 11 per cent of the league's overall gate and broadcast revenues are derived from the playoffs—a total of \$8.8 million. However, analysts dispute that estimate, pointing out that the New York Rangers' ticket sales alone bring in \$14.7 million in gate and ticket sales at Madison Square Garden. If they lost four games in each of four series on route to the Stanley Cup.

Acute: Of all the endangered parties, the CBC's concerns were among the most acute. A protracted strike stood to wipe out broadcast of at least 58 playoff games and as many as 49, depending on how each best-of-seven series ended. Jeffrey Osborne, group vice-president of Toronto-based Maple Leaf Sports Services, said that the CBC English network was charging \$18,000 per 30-second spot in the initial rounds of the playoffs and up to \$27,000 in the final rounds. Based on those figures, the CBC could gross almost \$1.4 million in one first-round game—and \$41.2 million for the minimum 25 games it had planned to broadcast. Osborne, whose company had planned to place \$5 to \$3 million worth of ads during the playoffs, added that Radio-Canada was charging \$7,500 per 30 seconds in the first three rounds and \$10,000 in the final. Tim Carson, CBC's director of communications, acknowledged that the dollars involved were important to the network. "They make up a big chunk of our budget that it turns positive to pay for a lot of things around here," he added. Clearly, that won't be the bottom line, because an agreement to go back to work in the blue line—and put on broadcasts to negotiate in the best of the contract.

BARBARA WICKSON with correspondence rights



Ziegler (left), Goodenow (right): Goodenow works playing at Maple Leaf Gardens (below); the players seemed to have the last to lose

Notes from the fringe

THE DON THAT ROARS

Across the country last week, people were finding that the strike by NHL players did more than turn out the arena lights. For instance:

A SILENT SPRING

Canadian hockey fans faced the prospect last week of a silent spring—the crowding of the game's most impassioned commentators. Don Cherry, the easy host of Hockey Night in Canada's "Coach's Corner" was scheduled to introduce a special Saturday night CBC rebroadcast of another hockey experts with his high-volume analysis of the strike. But Cherry acknowledged that a prolonged dispute would hurt him financially. He said that there could be a drop in the crowds and therefore in the revenues at his chain of 12 sports bars, called Don Cherry's Grapeskin. Not only that, he stood to lose up to \$70,000 if his playoff run of "Coach's Corner" was cancelled by the strike. But Cherry did admit that his wife, Rose, had found a silver lining in an otherwise gloomy situation. "Rose told me she's glad I'm going to be home," said Cherry. "I can take the kids and take care of the girls for the first time since we got married 20 years ago."

DONKING THE DRAFT

Launched in 1984, the Expansion Super Draft, based in Switzerland, has become one of the largest hockey pools in the country. According to founder Barry Pirby, a 45-year-old green farmer and resident of Resaucon, 45 miles south of Saskatoon, the 1991-1992 draft attracted about 6,800 entries from hockey fans in Canada, the United States, Europe, Japan and Hong Kong. Pirby added that the draft has grown in size, largely through word-of-mouth reports by participants. For \$40, each participant selects one team of 30 new players. For \$100, a com-



Cherry at home with Blue: "I can take the kids"

WHAT IS A STRIKE?

Freedom of choice is not an easy concept to grasp for someone who grew up in the Soviet Union—but certainly is. On its merit that served the case for Sergei Fedorov, a Detroit Red Wings center who emerged, completely baffled, from a meeting last week with team owner Mike Ilitch. When asked about the hit, Fedorov, who left the Soviet national team to seek political asylum in the United States in 1990, said: "I do not understand." He added: "This strike, I am not sure what it is. I don't know, so it is not I say nothing." Fedorov, who just finished playing a deal on a house in suburban Detroit, was not the only former Soviet player left scratching his head. But Red Wings defenceman Vladimir Kostin, who has been in the United States for only a year, opted to leave his late in his trademarked hands. "I do not understand this," he said. "But the others, they tell me we must do it, so I will do it."

A SPICE AT THE BAR

For many Quebec fans, hockey night means getting over to Le Capitaine Sports by 6 p.m. to grab a seat in front of one of 25 giant television screens. For newcomers at Montreal-based Sportscapex Restaurant, which serves the chain of 26 sports-themed restaurants through-

out the province, Stanley Cup wins in the equivalent of a retailer's Christmas in Quebec, revenues increase by 25 per cent while the Canadiens stay even. Team spirit surges, and Sportsman president Ray Dumas, the 38-year-old, said: "The NHL strike was a big disappointment. Dumas' food lounge about \$10,000 a year; each restaurant—up to \$16 million chain-wide if rules are dark through April. "It makes a very big difference to our bottom line during the year," said Dumas. "If the NHL strike, the demand does not expect hockey season to be of much help, either. In Quebec, at least, hockey is what makes the cash register ring."

Saskatchewan Air Show



In Regina, the galleries, shops and boutiques display their wares and treasures, the standard-bearers thunder home at Queen's Birthday, the RCMP parades at noon and joggers and cyclists circle Wascana Lake in North America's largest urban park. At Big Valley, a few minutes north, another Nashville star bows to forty thousand cheering fans, and at the Saskatchewan Air Show in Moose Jaw, a few minutes west, the Snowbirds flash across the sky.

Just another quiet day in Saskatchewan.

In Saskatoon, the midway rocks and rolls while at Masquie Downs thoroughbreds stamp in the starting gate. Down by the river, Saskatchewan players make much ado on an outdoor stage and eight member teams compete in a wild west marathon called Louis Riel Days. All in all, it's just another warm, dry, quiet day in a land where the sky is clean and blue and the sun shines more than just about anywhere else on the continent.

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Big Valley Junction, Ontario



Canadian ships confront a Spanish trawler (left) decimating stocks

A campaign for cod

Foreign fishermen ridicule Canada's protests

On rolling seas just beyond Canada's 200-mile jurisdictional limit last week, seven Newfoundland fishing trawlers confronted foreign ships at the edge of the Grand Banks. The protesters were trying to focus attention on what ship crews in the European fleet's mangling of northern cod stocks. But the foreign fishermen greeted the protest with contempt and accused their Canadian critics of hypocrisy.

The daily routine rarely varies during the six months each year that the 65-foot Spanish trawler *Leizachas* spends near the border of Canada's 200-mile limit. Each day, the 18 crew members drag the fish, set their traps and sleep—with only video games, cards and slow-moated Spanish newspapers and magazines to break the monotony. For chief mechanic Ricardo Parada, who lives in the fishing village of Meris on Spain's Atlantic coast, the prolonged separation from his wife and three daughters is hard. "It is a difficult life to lead," declared Parada, 45. And the trawlerman's life has become more difficult since he began fishing 25 years ago, he told *Maclean's* last week while the *Leizachas* was underway again in St-Pierre, the tiny French island 12 miles from Newfoundland's southern coast. In the past, Spanish trawlers usually fished their banks during their annual voyage to the Grand Banks. "Now," said Parada, "you have to work a lot harder to make the same amount of money."

That is a problem common to most Atlantic fishermen—no matter which flag they fly. In recent years, cod catches off Europe's Atlantic

coast have fallen as dramatically as the harvest from the Grand Banks. "Newfoundland fishermen's problems were no worse than those facing most other foreign fleets," explained Jaime Otero, 33, the *Leizachas's* captain. For most Europeans, Canadian overfishing is largely responsible for the decline of cod stocks. But rather than accept the blame, the foreign fishermen say, Canadians turn their anger against members of the European fleet, who consider their historic claims to rights on the Grand Banks to be as strong as Canada's own.

In 1977, Canada extended its territorial waters from 100 to 200 miles, taking control of the rich fishing grounds on the Grand Banks and gradually eliminating fishing by overseas fleets inside the new boundary. As well, in 1986 Canada closed its ports to European Community fishing vessels. And last week's confrontation in the battle over dwindling fish stocks, say many Spanish fishermen, is another step in Canada's relentless campaign to drive European ships out of grounds that they have been fishing since the 15th century. Declared Otero: "Canada wants to take control of the entire continental shelf. That is unacceptable."

Claims and counterclaims about overfishing underlie the controversy. For one thing, Ottawa insists that in 1993 European Community ships operating on the Grand Banks took 42,000 tons of cod, far exceeding their quota of 27,000 tons. But the Europeans say that Canadian claims about foreign overfishing are undercut by the fact that, of all the northern cod caught in the Grand Banks area, Canada takes

fully 75 per cent. Declared Louis Herby, the main St-Pierre prosecutor for Spanish trawlers, "Blaming foreign fishing is a smoke screen."

Aboard the *Leizachas*, which has been fishing for halibut, crew members reacted to the latest confrontation with confusion—and some anger. "I don't understand the Canadian government," Otero said while sitting in the ship's officers' lounge. The captain, a bachelor from the village of Fontevieja in northwestern Spain, added: "We're not here to anger the Newfoundlanders. We are here to fish and to make a living."

A normal weekday on board the *Leizachas* follows a nearly broken pattern: crew members drag fish during four long shifts, then spend 30 minutes sorting the catch before storing it in freezer containers. Because the ship is well provisioned, shore leaves in St-Pierre are rare. Once ashore, most trawlermen go to the local post office to use the public phones to call their families. For entertainment, they frequent the local bars and nightclubs.

For now, most members of the *Leizachas's* crew seem unconcerned with Canadian complaints. Said Parada: "Canada cannot take international law into its own hands." A more immediate concern, the trawlermen say, is catching enough fish to cover the costs of the voyage. While the trawlermen have a guaranteed monthly salary of \$1,600—Otero said that it would be difficult to find such a well-paying job in Spain—catches have been so sparse that it will be difficult for the ship's Spanish owner to break even on the trip. In the end, Europeans and Canadian fishermen clearly face the same dilemma: unless the cod return to the Grand Banks, there will be nothing worth fighting over.

JERRY DEMONTE is in St-Pierre with
MISCHA JOYIN PATRICKSON in St-Pierre

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IN THE EYE OF THE STORM

**IN AN EXCLUSIVE
ESSAY, MORDECAI
RICHLER EXPLAINS
WHY ANGLOPHONES
ARE LEAVING HOME**

"Jewville," "dagbrent," "kitchie"—these are some of the adjectives being used by Quebec commentators to describe (intentionally or not) the Jewish community. *Mordecai Richler's* scathing look at Quebec nationalism as well as his expertise that Quebec's political and intellectual life has long been tainted by anti-Semitism, have earned him the fury of the francophone media. But the Montreal-born Richler, 64, still writes from a sense of outrage. In the accompanying essay for *Maclean's*, he describes the controversy over his latest book, his continuing attachment to his native province and his growing anxiety over the apparently dismal future for anglophones in Quebec.

Problems

So I still enjoy the right to call myself a Quebecer after I actually had the opportunity to criticize *Le Devoir* as well as surface with the song that René Lévesque was a politician that is to say, a man whose honesty was suspect? Clearly, the answer is a resounding no, if Pierre Hain, publisher of *Le Journal de Montréal* is to be credited. "[Richler] has the cheek to call himself a Quebecer," he said recently. "That's a bit sad. I want to consider myself Chasse." Mind you, it has been reliably reported that, at the time, Hain was eating his beloved breakfast: waffles, soup, egg rolls and L'Express, sipping tea.

I was born in Quebec, yes, but certainly the Parti Québécois's extreme cultural isolationism, Canada Libre, would have denied me even non status for the obvious crime—as he once noted—of thinking of myself as a Canadian first of all. On the other hand, the current leader of the PQ, an increasingly bleary "Jude" Parizeau, has warned us that once we are independent we will still have Canadian passports and books. A pretty good thing, too, as we might say himself, but also baffling. Just adding to my confusion, only a few weeks back federal Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark drew a line in the sand, as it were, telling those Quebecers who receive state-level federal-

ism that Ottawa was assuming no responsibility for us. If Quebec goes, it's bye-bye. Canadian citizenship, unless we are willing to move to Regina or Sudbury or T.O. Following Holborn's church, Clér's unexpected invitation.

And us, at the late hours of the night, dispirited as a Quebecer of even average (or below) talent and Co., and possibly about to be asked if any Canadian citizenship, I wonder if I will soon be a man without a country, condemned to wander the world as a refugee—in a present *Le Devoir* contributor once put it—like the Jewish crime of choice.

Meanwhile, perplexed Montrealers previously unknown to me introduce themselves as I wait for my luggage by the airport at one airport or another. "Montreal's my home. I really like it there," says a bilingual man in his 30s.

"So do I."

"But we've got young children now and I suspect there will be nothing for them there."

Another man, this one a property developer who is an old schoolmate of mine, says: "I would like to live against another person in Montreal. I mean, hell, I'm already going to be stuck with plenty I will have to let go at fire-sale prices."

Many I have spoken to would leave right now, without even waiting for Quebec to go bankrupt, but they are locked into a dream shop

or a cigar-and-socks that has been in the family for a couple of generations, or to the only house they have ever owned.

Now October's referendum, if there is going to be one, has them frightened. They remember, as I do, how as a 16-year-old Lévesque, going into the 1980 referendum as sovereignty-association, postscript evoked memories of the Quebec Expanding markets in Westmount. Through books in the work exchange. The October Crisis. "I will not be responsible for what happens," he warned, "if the English continue to oppose the true aspirations of the Québécois."

So much for the fiction that anybody who lives in Quebec is a Québécois. In a belly protest, as in *Amélie* Park, some voters will be more equal than others come October, and if the referendum result is close, as I anticipate, say only 50 or 55 per cent voting to stay in Canada, things could get hot for Quebecers named Kelly, Lee, McCreedy or MacNeil. Anybody who suggests otherwise is either a fool or a liar.

Forget the whales, state mind the outcrop and page. If there is a truly endangered species in Canada, it is the non-francophone population of Quebec. More than 300,000 have grudgingly uprooted themselves from the province since 1976, the year the *Projet 68* to power. The real, mostly aging *francophones*—stillably following whatever they anticipate they won't be able to take with them, come the crunch—feel increasingly unwelcome here.

The good is non-francophone Montreal, as I read it, is compounded of two parts: melancholy and one part anger. True, we still party here, but now it is usually to wish yet another old friend, or one of our relatives, bon voyage.

Meanwhile, we expect only more broken promises from the provincial Liberals and more virulent legislation from the PQ. To come close, we also feel abandoned by the miserably inept, even pensive, crew that is trying to keep our federal state of affairs afloat. Parliament, we were not advised when its justice, Guccini, began, noting how badly the old tab was

ESSAY



living, isolated for a job with the United Nations, only to be found wanting there too.

Look at it this way: If the *Nô* real spends its time as many francophones out of Quebec as possible, they are succeeding brilliantly. It becomes, then, not the case, would they please stop shedding crocodile tears, telling us how much we are needed, even admired, by us. We wait less hot and more so than from both the provincial Liberals and the PQ. Our government could begin by awarding the address 861 171—a language law that has made us a leading stock market—and by doing more about English education, which a recent provincial task force described as "a social system under siege." The report went on to state:

"There must be an acceptance by the whole of Quebec society that its *français* is of national value and to Quebec. If the English-speaking community of Quebec is to continue to exist as a contributing component of Quebec's social, cultural and economic makeup, its schools must reflect the distinct character of its aspirations, traditions and potential."

Culture: I am a Montrealer born and bred and I do not wish to leave the city or my other home of 15 years in Quebec's Eastern Townships. I enjoy the company of French-Canadians and still consider them among the most cultured people in the country, something I keep repeating to no effect, and I cherish the ethnic diversity (as opposed to the tribalism) inherent in the street chant of "La Québec aux Québécois" (the one made Montreal, my Montreal, the most cosmopolitan city in Canada. And the most fun).

I left Montreal in 1950, at the age of 18, a college dropout bound for Paris. Ironically, in those days, much to my amusement, francophone Montrealers (say, Jack Parnaud) bled for London, where no one would advance their accounts, and Anglophones (like me) sought out Paris, where nobody would waste at our accents. Ironically, however, I did settle in London. And when I returned to Montreal, in 1972, with my wife and five children, it wasn't because I was enamored of the city, but that I was so Jewish as to think its cultural advantages rivaled those of London. I came back because it was home.

Even: only a couple of weeks ago I was not shopping for food on Laurier Avenue. Laurier, I should explain, was once in the heart of Montreal's Jewish quarter, a street of noisy, dilapidated stores with faded window displays.

But in recent years Laurier has been transformed with considerable passion by Jewish phones, and now boasts fast-food shops, decent restaurants and thriving boutiques. Anyway, there I was, crossing the street, when a francophone woman, her sweater bearing, told me, "Hey, Richler, you shouldn't walk down here all alone. This is a French-Canadian district."

She was gone before I could tell her that this may be a Jewish francophone district today, but there was a time when it was my very own neighborhood. Hey, I wanted to tell her, wait a minute, I need to play street hockey here with Marty Pissel and Albert Astruc and Renée Bloumanov. Only a block away, at the Talmud Torah, I learned modern Hebrew. On Sunday mornings, not on my CCM bicycle, I need to

Three are thousands more like me in Montreal—Jews or Nô, and, more recently, Italians, Greeks, Portuguese, whatever—with their own special measures of growing up in the city, and we are deeply resentful at those xenophobic nationalists who would dismiss us, in the first place, as *les autres*, and, in the second, later such a linguistically endangered atmosphere as to force us to leave, if only for the sake of our children.

So we are obliged to grasp at straws. Three years after Mayor Jean Duroie came out unapologetically for the maintenance of an exclusively French face for Montreal, he has—possibly because he is a *Nô* member—discovered that English is "one of the big international languages," as he recently observed. Furthermore, Australians against



Montreal's Laurier Avenue: Hey, Richler, you shouldn't walk down here all alone!

collect butcher bills on these streets. I must have passed here thousands of times, strolling home from Baron Byng High School with Earl Kruger and Ed Weisman, maybe stopping for a game of Ping-Pong at Joe's or some smokes at the Laurier Billiards. Right there on the corner of Park and Laurier there once stood Jack and Moe's Barber Shop, where I made one of my first rites of passage. For years, accompanied by the hairbrushing by my mother, I had to endure the humiliation of Jack or Moe slipping a board through the silver arms of the old-fashioned chair, raising me high enough for either me to cut my hair without stooping. Then one halibush day, no more board! "Sullivan, kid," Jack said, indicating the actual black leather seat and I understood, for the first time, that things might yet work out for me.

By now, he has learned, just the city in the eyes of international visitors. Therefore, he has advocated that we be thrown a crumb. He would like to see it possible for businesses with four employees or less to post bilingual signs. Even this was too much for Claude Ryan, Quebec's minister in charge of language matters, who responded, not bloody likely until the constitutional dispute is settled. And so, somewhere down the line, I think we can hope for a bonnie in the offices 861 171. Next year, or the year after, bilingual outside commercial signs might be permitted in the streets of Montreal between 4 and 6 a.m., or on every second ramp Wednesday.

We are living through a farce, but the problem is we are on stage, not in the audience, so our laughter is understandably limited. □



Fair Dinkum* Australia.



*fair dinkum/—Colloq.—adj. 1: true, genuine, dinkum (are you fair dinkum?)—interj. 2: assertion of truth or genuineness it's true, mate, fair dinkum! 3: Come have a fair dinkum great time in Australia.

QANTAS
THE SPIRIT OF AUSTRALIA

Australia
Come and say G'day.

'A SENSE OF FOREBODING'

ANGLOPHONES REACH A CROSSROADS

In a house over the corner of Pine and Park avenues at downtown Montreal, a yellow-brick building on the slopes of Mount Royal that is both a monument to a glorious past—and a symbol of an uncertain future. For 61 years, Thomas D'Arcy McGee High School epitomized the vitality of Montreal's English-speaking community. Many of the voters that once elected it as its corridors belonged to students who have since gone on to distinguished careers: Canada's justice minister, Denis Desautels, once walked D'Arcy McGee's hallways; and Quebec International Affairs Minister John Cuccia, Hollywood actor Michael Sarrazin, and Canadian football legend Terry Evanshen. But when the current school year ends, D'Arcy McGee, the oldest English-language public secondary school in the Montreal Catholic School Commission—and one of the best—will close, yet another harbinger in the recent history of Quebec's declining anglophone population. "It's depressing to watch your language disappear," complains longtime Montreal city councillor Nick Aul der Mass, another D'Arcy McGee alum. "But this is just one more symptom of the process that is constantly shrinking Montreal's Anglo community."

Symbols of the anglophone community's decline are scattered throughout the city. Other schools have been made redundant; their school boards or have been closed; the buildings now used for storage. In predominantly English-speaking enclaves such as the suburban West Island, for sale signs dot the lawns of well-maintained bungalows—evidence of the exodus, gripping anglophones as Quebec braves the possibility of an October referendum on the province's future. Since the 1960s—and the terrorist bombings of the 1980s—an estimated 300,000 more anglophones have left the province than have moved to Quebec. The rate of annual migration peaked with the departure of 135,000 anglophones between 1976 and 1981, the first five years of the Parti Québécois's nine years in office. Now, the province may be poised on the edge of another large exodus—one that could signal the end of Quebec's once vibrant anglophone community. Several prominent Quebec politicians, including Lesieur Jacques Parizeau and René Ouellet, leader of the Bloc Québécois, have tried to ally the anglophone community's fears. And many francophones say that the concern of their anglophone colleagues are wildly exaggerated. But, says Robert Keaton, president of

the English rights lobby group Alliance Québec: "There is a clear sense of foreboding. You get the feeling that a lot of people are getting ready to leave this area around if the climate does not suddenly improve."

Among some anglophones, the mood is marked by more than just foreboding. Nosed one 35-year-old West Island businessman: "I am liquidating my assets and preparing to move. I was born and bred here. But at a certain point, you get fed up fighting for your rights." The man declined to reveal his name. The fear of underwriting clear coexistence in his basement, which caters mostly to anglophones. But others clearly fear that connecting on Quebec's linguistic divisions will only invite criticism. Declines another anglophone businessman, who adds that he is determined to remain in Quebec. "At least 80 per cent of my clients are French. There is no way I am going to say anything against them or Quebec."

Attack: Those who do speak out often find themselves under attack, as illustrated by the scathing debate over poetess Mercedes Richier's best-selling (in Quebec) *Oh Quebec!* But while many English-speaking critics agree that Richier may have overstated his criticism of the policies and attitudes of Quebec's francophone majority, it is equally clear that the anger and frustration underlying his writing is shared by many of Quebec's non-speaking anglophones. According to the 1986 census, the

Montreal skyline: 'Anglophones do not see a future here. They do not know where the province is going.'

province is home to some 580,000 people whose mother tongue is English, and another 300,000 who speak English at home, out of a total provincial population of 6.5 million. Says Min King, 26, a bartender at a downtown Montreal bar: "Anglophones do not see a future here. They do not know where the province is going."

King, for one, says that she is "pretty much bilingual." But, she complains, "I find that when you go to job interviews, people want to know, 'Are you *peu* bilingue?' Well, I am not perfectly bilingual. My mother tongue is English. What do you expect?" She added, "A lot of people feel that because they have an English name they will be passed over for a job. For someone who had French as a mother tongue—even if they are equally qualified." Said McGill University chancellor Gervais Gauthier: "I think it's obvious that the English-speaking minority, if it is to remain viable in Quebec, urgently requires recognition of the fact that English society in itself is viable in Quebec."

Many leading Quebecers claim that the English-speaking community is overreacting to the current political uncertainty. Bouchard, for one, says that the province's anglophones have never fully come to terms with their loss of influence after the Quiet Revolution of the

early 1960s. "To me, it is obvious they are well treated and have nothing to complain about," he said last year. Another anglophone nationalist, Conservative MP Jean-Pierre Blackburn, said that anglophones want recognition, adding that they should remember that they are the most prosperous minority in the world.

Key: In fact, Bernard Landry, vice-president of the PQ, says that he knows many anglophones who are perfectly happy to remain in the province. "They have chosen to stay," he says. "Yes, I see the young people leaving Quebec, but I also see them leaving Saskatoon and Moose Jaw. Francophones are still mobile." At the same time, though, many francophone politicians have acknowledged that the anglophone community has legitimate concerns—and have offered them to solve. In Montreal Mayor Jean Doré, a former aide to PQ founder René Lévesque, asked Premier Robert Bourassa last month to address some of the provisions of Bill 176, the provincial law banning English from most commercial signage. Said that the migration of young, well-educated anglophones from Quebec represented "an enormous loss of skill," adding that he hoped to see the anglophone community in his city "thrive."

But many anglophones are openly distrustful of such assurances. "I do not think that most

English-speaking people really listen to these things," says Steven Chiswick, 39, Quebecer, who was born and raised in the West Island's English-language environment and works for a Montreal marketing research company, adds. "I do not think anyone here is—especially if Quebec were to become independent."

Adding to anglophone distrust is the Quebec government's failure to reach out to the English-speaking community. Bill 176 is still in place—in spite of a growing recognition on the part of prominent francophones such as Doré, that the law is an embarrassment that has harmed business and threatened Quebec's image abroad. "Bill 176 is a millstone around the politicians' necks and they'd like to get rid of it," says McGill's Chambers. "But they don't want to move on a right now, not least because it amounts to admitting that maybe people like Mercedes Richier have been right all along."

Anglophone Quebecers have also been demanding action on the education front. Chambers, for one, recently served as chairman of a provincial government task force on English education. In February, she submitted a report that documented a dramatic 57-per-cent decline in the province's English-school enrolment. The report also advocated 29 measures, the most controversial involving a partial dismantling of Bill 181, that had, until



D'Arcy McGee English-language high school is symbol of a declining community

PHOTO BY GUY AROCH



times by the PQ in 1997, requires all children of immigrants, no matter what their linguistic history, to enter the French-language system. If Charest's proposals are implemented, immigrant children with English-speaking backgrounds would be given the freedom to enroll in English schools, allowing the system to partially replicate what says Charest: "The government can help the English community stay healthy—or it can let it fall away and eventually die."

Spells from the Quebec government show possible changes to Bill 101, have, so far, not been encouraging for anglophones. Although Bouchette has said that he is considering Charest's recommendations, he insists that an early decision is unlikely. Education Minister Michel Proulx initially declined the report, but later backtracked by saying that changes, if any, would not be implemented before the 1993-1994 school year. More anglophone spokespersons remain firmly opposed to any concessions. Jean Desros, president of the national St. Jean Baptiste Society, firmly declared, "We think it is a good thing that immigrants must now attend French schools."

While the language debate drags on, the English school system slowly atrophies. The impending closure of D'Arcy McGee High School is a case in point. Although it has facilities for 1,200 students, the school this year has an enrolment of just 265. More than 60 per cent of those students are descendants of Portuguese and Italian immigrants, permitted to attend English classes only because their parents or older siblings received an English-language education in Canada. Now immigrants must send their children to D'Arcy McGee because of Bill 101. And the school is not an isolated case. Six other high schools in Montreal's English Catholic school system have closed over the past 18 years for the same reason—a situation that is paralleled as the Premier's School Board of Greater Montreal. Twenty years ago, that school board had three high schools in the anglophone neighbourhoods of Notre-Dame-de-Grâce and Montclair West. By the end of this year, it will have closed.

But while many anglophones say that changes to current legislation would help their community, they add that they are facing other hurdles. For one thing, they claim, it will be hard to dispel what they say is an underlying mood of intolerance among francophones—even if Quebecers vote to secede in Confederation in a future referendum. "I asked someone for directions in Lachine," recalls bartender King. "It just never occurred to me to say it is French. The person rolled it up." Monte LaAngelier (Quebec's English press) says that attitude. "I am not proud of Quebec."

Many Quebec anglophones feel similar stories. And for them, the experience of the past two decades has been profoundly an-

Katherine Petcher, law student, Montreal

(Born and raised in Montreal, Petcher, 27, expects to graduate in the spring from



Anwar Mehkari, chemist, Aylmer, Que.

Born in India, Mehkari, 58, moved to Canada in 1961 and has lived in Aylmer, on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River near the national capital, since 1971. In 1988, he started a consulting business in Aylmer. But in June he began a new venture, an environmental testing laboratory, in nearby Nepesin. His wife and his children, 45, and two children, Doris, 14, and Leticia, 10. They plan to move to Ottawa as soon as they sell their house.

"We moved here because it was a small town with a school English and French population, and the people were very nice. I thought, 'In Quebec, my children can grow up and learn both languages.' This was the

McGill University with a degree in civil and common law. She has accepted a job offer from a large Toronto law firm and also plans to move there on May 4, leaving behind her parents and two sisters.

"Day in, there is an animosity between the French and English in Quebec—it is a civilised profession, after all. But I feel like an outsider. It's funny, because politically I am sympathetic to the francophones. For example, they lived in an English environment, and it is hard for him to be able to live in your own language. But it is precisely because of that that I am leaving. I think I might feel more at home in Toronto. I

worked there last summer and I liked the fact that wherever I went, people understood me. I felt I could be myself more. I certainly could not do this kind of work in French that I am asked to do in Toronto, even though I am in a field of being bilingual. You need that extra edge, and if you need? 100 per cent effective in the language, you are rewarded. Most of my friends are moving to Toronto, too. It is a job again on new. We all say, 'Where are you going to be working?' and then we say, 'See you in the 405.' My parents will probably stay to Quebec—their lives are here now. But I think that if they had lived somewhere else, they would have been happier."



philosophy we had. But as an English-speaking, I find that I am discriminated against. I want to be the Quebec government to help with my business, but the people there gave me a hard time. They gave me no kind of privileges here in French—but they would not provide me with English transla-

tions. The government at the government office said to me, 'If you want to do business here, you'd better be fluent.' That put me off completely. I have tried to learn French, but it's not my first language. The anglophones here are degrading. I feel much more comfortable doing business in Ontario."

settling. At the time of Confederation, anglophones represented about a quarter of the province's population. Anglophones also made up more than 50 per cent of the population of Montreal, a city that until 1914 had a first tradition of alternating English- and French-speaking nations. And although they were always a minority, anglophones and the 1960s and saw the 1960s would effective control over the province's economy—in the last renaissance of francophones.

In fact, many anglophones say that they understand the historical anger among some francophones. Quebec, for one, is known as 'Le Grand' or 'Old Quebec' that is the 19th-century francophones 'left them

But we would like to keep some rights. People say Montreal is a little bit of Europe. Well, a little bit of Europe has a little bit of English."

Meanwhile, the same concerns, especially among the anglophone community's youth. Last summer, the anglophone rights lobby group Alliance Quebec surveyed 1,000 Quebecers of the province's three English-language universities and five major colleges. It found that 36 per cent of those polled planned to leave the province after graduation. And 70 per cent said that they would leave if Quebec became independent. "Young people are questioning whether Quebec society is truly committed to sustaining them here," says Donald Wells, a senior vice-president at the Royal

bank in an anglophone. For its part, the Quebec government has announced a program to ensure that the provincial civil service reflects the province's population—with anglophones holding about 10 per cent of the jobs. But no target dates have yet been announced.

Let journalists ask each other: Is the province racist, although that has much to do with the current black economic climate as it does with any discrimination—real or perceived—as the part of Quebec's francophone majority. And the black circle is expanding: some anglophones are questioning whether their declining numbers can sustain a consistent. Says Montrealer Donald Johnston, journalist of the Liberal Party of Canada: "The question is, how the anglophone community survives?"

While demographers debate that question, many Quebec anglophones acknowledge that their community has reached a crucial turning point. "I think the next couple of years are going to be very important, maybe even a watershed, for Quebec's anglophones," says Robert Libman, leader of the anglophone rights lobby group. "If the constitutional process, leads to Quebec secession, we will witness another mass exodus. If we somehow get past the constitutional hurdle, Angles are going to be looking at how the government handles the Chaberters report and Bill 101. If both of those issues are pushed aside, that will mean that people must be persuaded that there is no real future for them in this province."

Some have already arrived at that conclusion. Reports about anglophone Quebecers' "getting legal"—calling matters such as real estate and commercial law around this area, but I am not going to move into the political atmosphere in Quebec at all."

The McGee Family Vail-Jail, Que.

A 50-year-old high-school teacher who plans to take early retirement in June, Walter McGee is a descendant of Irish immigrants who settled in Quebec's Eastern townships in the early 1800s. His 47-year-old wife, Anne—unlike her husband, she is bilingual—comes from a family of Irish and French Quebecers. In June, the couple plan to move from Vail, a township near Sherbrooke, with their son, Kevin, 18, and daughters Kelly, 17, and Kimberly, 11, to Acton, Ont., a small town on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, where they recently purchased a bungalow and French Quebecers. In June, the couple plan to move from Vail, a township near Sherbrooke, with their son, Kevin, 18, and daughters Kelly, 17, and Kimberly, 11, to Acton, Ont., a small town on the northern shore of Lake Ontario, where they recently purchased a bungalow and French Quebecers.



"I had planned to stay here after retiring and take care of my plants and apple trees. But we finally decided to leave because of the political issue in Quebec. I have an interest whatsoever in playing in a province where individual rights like second place to the rights of the majority. It aggravates

me that I cannot even see an English sign. There comes a point when, for the survival of your own culture, you have to go. I am going to miss all my friends—both English and French—around this area, but I am not going to move into the political atmosphere in Quebec at all."

when he is second-class citizens at home," adding that "currently there is something in that something that led to Quebec's anglophone Quebecers' making city of Montreal. But he says that "the city is a question of an angle and 30 years ago," and that "francophones are still doggingly fighting against anglophones that no longer exist." Other anglophone Quebecers also say so. Says René King: "My friends and I do not want to oppress the francophone culture and people. Montreal is a great city because of the French culture."

Bank of Canada and chairman of an Alliance Quebec task force on the young anglophone exodus. "Many believe certain jobs won't be open to them because, regardless of their language skills, their first language and their names are not French."

Statistics from Quebec's public service sector to bolster such a pessimistic view. As of March 31 last year, the entire 60,000-member provincial civil service employed a mere 378 anglophones. Of the City of Montreal's 14,800 employees, barely all are anglophones. And none of the 340 senior positions at city hall is

anglophone. Says Gormley: "I have been told, 'You may find the local reputation of boys had it gets.' But I ask, 'Are you going to be one person left, with a big face under my nose, holding a torch and knowing nobody?' For its part, the Quebec's Education Ministry says that it is very, very difficult for me. Emotionally, I am a Quebecer. This is my home. But a home must be hospitable—and for many Quebec anglophones, that is clearly no longer the case."

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GOING DOWN THE ROAD

TORONTO IS A MAGNET FOR MONTREAL JEWS



Anna Belin and Jack Foreman "I was not going to sit around waiting for a French law firm to throw me a bone"

The Montreal-style market meat sandwiches and bagels at the Centre Street Delicatessen often draw a nostalgic clientele. Each week, so hundreds of Jewish former Montrealers meet at the Toronto deli to indulge their craving for the flavors of home, the conversation frequently turns to events in the city they left behind, from the latest developments in Quebec politics to the problems of the Expos. For the most part, the estimated 30,000 Jews—a roughly equivalent to the population of Kingston, Ont.—who have moved from Montreal, primarily to Toronto, over the past 20 years have prospered at their adopted cities. But many still speak affectionately of their home town and remain angry about a political situation that they say drove them to leave. "I loved Montreal," says Howard Ben-Shalom, 35, a corporate lawyer who moved to Toronto in 1979 and occasionally cuts in at

the Centre Street Deli. "But when I got back again, I find that the Jewish community has become a ghost town."

Foreman: For many former members of Montreal's Jewish community, the trip down Highway 403—the 545-km ribbon of four-lane asphalt that links Montreal and Toronto—was a painful one. Angelihome Montreal is actually a

community of cosmopolitans—English, Italian, Greek and many others—with the Jewish segment historically one of its largest and most vibrant elements. For this city's remaining 90,000 Jews, the regulatory promises have torn apart families that had put down roots dating back to the turn of the century. In Toronto, the newcomers have discovered a

very different world from the one they had left behind. While the political and economic climate may be more hospitable, they miss the warm familiarity of Montreal's Jewish community. To make matters worse, many regret that the move as well as an embarrassing admission of defeat. Says Ben-Shalom: "We had always been taught that Toronto was a cultural wasteland. Being from Montreal meant that you were special."

The reluctant departure of almost one-quarter of Mon-



Ben-Shalom: "Montreal is more European and cosmopolitan"

Continued On Page 20

A SPECIAL ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT TO THE APRIL 23, 1992 ISSUE OF MACLEAN'S MAGAZINE

THE UNKNOWN EXPLORERS

The 150th Anniversary of the Geological Survey of Canada



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*Sir William Logan, founder and first
director of the Geological Survey of Canada.*



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This month, the Geological Survey of Canada (GSC) celebrates its 150th anniversary. The legacy of this venerable Canadian institution includes some of the richest mines in the world. Its exploration of this vast land has played an important role in helping Canadian industry

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accurate assessment of our resources. In an

increasingly competitive international market-

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key to our continued economic health.

What's more, the Survey has expanded its mandate to include the study of the causes and effects of the geological phenomena that contribute to or are affected by global change, and to search for ways to deal with our changing climate.

In a 1988 report, the

Canadian Geoscience Council

recommended that the

Geological Survey of Canada be

designated Canada's National Earth

Science Agency, the agency responsible

for assessing all aspects of earth system

science. Yet, despite its considerable repu-

tation in the national and international geologi-

cal communities, the Survey remains largely

unknown to Canadians.

Here are the stories of a few of its unknown

explorers: + + + + +

Geological Survey 150



*Portrait of
Sir William Logan*



MAPPING THE WORLD'S OLDEST ROCKS

The engines of the Bell helicopter slowly died down, leaving a group of geologists in stunning silence. Perched on a plateau in the rugged, desolate, beautiful, Canadian North, 35-year-old Marc St-Onge surveyed the scene. A naked hill rose and fell to the right. Behind, another crested and then gave way to the rocky plateau. A small river wound past on the left. And straight ahead, endless miles of barren Arctic tundra. The nearest last village was 100 km to the east on Hudson Strait. Quebec City was 1,600 km to the south.

St-Onge and his 25-year-old colleague, Stephen Lucas, decided it was a perfect spot to set camp, a home base for the task ahead. Over the 90 days that followed, they and their team from the Geological Survey of Canada would map some 14,800 km² on the Ungava Peninsula in Northern Quebec. The geologists would carefully record the rock formations they observed on their daily treks. They would chart the geological architecture and search for clues

as to the forces that alter the earth's crust and affect its resources.

Each year, the Survey hires some 300 geology students to help carry out its work. But only the hardy need apply. At the St-Onge and Lucas camp, Robin Rook, a 21-year-old student from Trent University in Peterborough, served up breakfast at 7 a.m. The team then prepared for the daily 15-km trek. St-Onge and Lucas explained the route each geologist would take and handed out the aerial photographs that served as navigational and mapping tools.

At 8 a.m., Pierrette Paroz, a helicopter pilot with the Polar Continental Shelf Project, the Arctic logistics agency linked to the Survey, begins to shuttle the researchers to the start of their day's work. For sometimes as long as 12 hours, each geologist walks alone, making observations, charting find-

ings and collecting rock samples.

"The way we map is a function of what we know about geology," says St-Onge of the current mapping project. Survey teams have made geological maps of many of these areas in the past, he said, but the maps must be constantly updated in light of current geological concepts. "The rocks don't change, but the way we look at them does."

The St-Onge and Lucas team was only one of many from the Survey's Continental Geoscience Division that had fanned out across our vast country to map its geology and investigate the mineral wealth that lies hidden below its surface. Today's geologists address fundamental questions about

how and when various parts of Canada's landscape were assembled to better understand the processes that form the rich deposits of copper, nickel, zinc, gold and other minerals

that dot Canada's North. Understanding how minerals form is key to knowing where to look for them.

"Geology is a young field," says St-Onge, who completed his PhD studies in geology at Queen's University in 1981. "A person still can make significant contributions."

Janet King also knows well the rigors of geological mapping. As head of the Continental Geoscience Division's western sector, the 35-year-old King is a veteran of many field seasons in Canada's North. Since 1987, the PhD graduate from Queen's University has led a CSC team that has been producing detailed geological maps of 16,200 km² between Yellowknife on Great

Slave Lake and Coppermine on Coronation Gulf.

The central Slave province, as it's called in geological circles, was first surveyed by the Survey's Cliff Stockwell in the 1930s. Helicopter surveys in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in more detailed maps. However, over time, as geoscience research required increasingly precise data and copla-



Marc St-Onge (above) prepares his team's assignments. (Below) The Ungava Peninsula Project camp.

ration became more expensive and difficult, more accurate maps were required.

"Most of the 'easy finds' have been found," says King. New maps will allow earth scientists to concen-



trate on what isn't visible on the surface—to make educated guesses about areas of good potential for mineral exploration and to select promising drill sites.

Unlike St-Onge, to whom she has been married for eight years, King doesn't often enjoy helicopter support for her field work. The flat Arctic tundra north of Yellowknife

affles her team to get in and from their tasks on foot or by boat, often walking up to 50 km per day.

Apart from the obvious danger of injury in this rugged environment, King and her team must be prepared for the weather and the wildlife. The surveyors carry "bear mace" to protect themselves. But that's the only protection they carry. They have neither radios nor firearms cut on tundra.

In most respects, the goals of geological mapping haven't changed since Sir William Logan set out to chart Canada's natural resources 150 years ago, although scientific concepts and supporting technology

have evolved dramatically, especially in the last 20 to 30 years. Geological mapping—providing maps that tell prospectors, mining and oil companies and construction engineers what lies beneath their feet—remains the primary function of the Survey, just as it was in 1842.

It's still high adventure. It's still tinged with danger. And when you arrive at the base camp at the beginning of a season, says St-Onge, and you breathe in the chilly stillness, you begin to understand the beauty of the North.

GLOBAL CHANGE: BEETLEMANIA AND MORE

Recent interest in global warming has focused attention on the fact that we know very little about climate change and the forces that drive it. While the Geological Survey of Canada has long studied the history and processes of global environmental change, the need to compile detailed scientific information about our climate and its history has become urgent.

When the Survey recently expanded its global change pro-

gram within its Terrestrial Sciences Division, it called upon a renowned scientist who, at first glance, might seem an odd choice: Geologist Alan Morgan is a recognized authority on fossilized "beetle bats." A professor of earth sciences at the University of Waterloo, Morgan is in fact one of a handful of experts who can tell you about climate changes in any particular location by the presence or absence of fossilized beetles.

"Beetles appear to respond

rapidly to changes in climate and can show temperature changes that are not easily detected by other means," says the 48-year-old researcher.

The global change program that Morgan coordinates collects a wide range of information about past environmental change. Air bubbles in cores drilled from ice in the high Arctic, for instance, reveal levels of carbon dioxide and methane in the atmosphere's hundreds, even thousands, of years ago. Organic and

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Geologist Alan Morgan, a recognized authority on fossilized "beetle bits," studying samples.

inorganic matter in sediments offer clues to annual rainfall, growing conditions and natural changes that affected the climate.

"Earth scientists have a great deal to contribute to the global change story," Morgan says, "and not the least of this is a good understanding of all past natural change before, and up to the time that mankind really started to modify the planet."

The Survey is monitoring environmental indicators in three regions in Canada that are particularly susceptible to global change. On Ellesmere Island, in the high Arctic, researchers are examining permafrost conditions and the distribution of plants and animals. They are also looking at snow and ice accumulations on the nearby Agassiz Ice Cap and examining records left within the ice sheet and in fossil peat moss deposits. "Northern Ellesmere is a place that computer models predict is going to warm up substantially and be most adversely affected by global warming," says Morgan.

Steele studies are being carried out in the Madenac Valley, where a warming trend could release methane trapped in or under the permafrost. Methane is 20 times more efficient as a "greenhouse" gas than

carbon dioxide. Its release would only accelerate global warming.

In southern Alberta and Saskatchewan, CSC researchers are studying past and present environmental conditions in a region that is

highly susceptible to possible changes in precipitation patterns.

"It may take years," says Morgan, "but we must get a reasonably good handle on the history of nature's own cyclical environmental changes before we can begin to understand the effects of people as they burn fossil fuels that accelerate the greenhouse effect or release chlorofluorocarbons that thin the ozone layer." That information will be crucial to governments and industry as they attempt to respond to major climate changes.

As the Canadian Geoscience Council put it recently, the study of global change is incredibly complex, but the very existence of mankind in the future may depend upon it. The expertise at the Geological Survey of Canada makes it the premier agency for collecting the type of information necessary for our planet to survive.

MINERAL EXPLORATION: LESSONS FROM THE SEA

Last summer, Jim Franklin spent the field season settling a matter that had intrigued him for years. He travelled on an ocean-drilling vessel to an undersea ridge of volcanic mountains some 200 km off Vancouver Island to learn about how mineral deposits form.

It was an odd place to find the 48-year-old North Bay, Ont.-born scientist who cut his teeth on geology in the Canadian Shield of Northern Ontario. But the earth reveals its secrets in the most unlikely places. And in this case, the answer to how deposits of zinc, copper, lead and gold are formed lies two kilometres below the ocean.

During several previous summers, Franklin and members of the Seafloor Minerals Project Team from

the Geological Survey of Canada, have been exploring hot-spring vents along the Juan de Fuca Ridge off the West Coast as part of a resource assessment of the offshore. "It began when the Reagan Administration in the United States announced it planned to lay claim to parts of the Canadian offshore," says Franklin. "External Affairs took the matter very seriously and decided there was an urgent need to determine our resource potential there."

At face value, the Survey's exploration of potential mineral deposits would be invaluable to governments and to the Canadian mining industry. But an analysis of something different — 300° C waters spewing from hot-spring vents on the ocean floor — was to leave Franklin and his colleagues



150 YEARS OF SERVICE TO THE NATION

flushed with excitement.

Since the mid-1960s, geologists have looked around a theory that an expanding seafloor draws cold sea water deep into fissures where it becomes superheated by volcanic magma. It then rises to the surface in the form of hot springs, drawing with it dissolved base and precious metals. Might this be how mineral deposits form?

Franklin had for years been studying the attributes of rock formations that relate to deposits of ore. His studies at Sturgeon Lake in Ontario and at the Snow Lake region of Manitoba



"Alvin", has led to useful geological insights to ore deposits. Now, as head of the Survey's Southern Manitoba section,

the University of Western Ontario-trained geologist directs large-scale, multidisciplinary research into the nature, distribution and origin of ore deposits.

The work is paying off. Recent investigations at Britannia, New Brunswick, by the Survey's Coes Van Staal and Wayne Goodfellow led directly to the discovery of a rich new ore body. And work at Sturgeon Lake helped companies discover enough additional ore for at least four more years of mining. "If there is one deposit in an area," says Franklin, "it usually means there are others. We help companies bring to bear every bit of geological expertise on the area so they can find the deeper deposits."

But much remains to be explained about how these valuable deposits



actually form — information that would make it easier to find them out. So in 1987, Franklin and his colleague Ian Jonasson went back to the bottom of the sea in search of the evidence they needed to support the so-called theory.

They found that two vent types existed, one belched out black clouds of mineral-rich sea water, the other bubbled with clear water. The latter was the hoped-for site of boiling water below the

"Alvin", a deep diving research vessel, was one of the technological marvels that assisted Survey teams in their work.

seafloor, the former was the outlet vent.

With the theory almost nailed down, Franklin and Wayne Goodfellow collaborated last summer with scientists from the international Ocean Drilling Program to examine cores taken from deep beneath the sediments at vent sites off British Columbia. In a few short months of drilling, they uncovered the largest sulphide deposit ever found on the seafloor. As exciting as that find was, it was also the clincher to the theory. "We have now documented the find," says Franklin, "and, what's as important, we understood what we have and how it got there."

Franklin, the Seafloor Minerals Team and mining companies across Canada are now applying this new knowledge of ancient hydrothermal activity to exploration on Canada's huge landmass. "Subvolcanic intrusions," altered volcanic rocks and "hydrothermal alterations" have become buzz words of modern mineral exploration and, to Canadian industry, welcome messages of future prosperity.

SEARCHING FOR OIL AND GAS

Last November 18th, the Canadian Society of Petroleum Geologists set up a luncheon in Calgary for its members. The highlight of the program was the latest report of the Survey's Institute of Sedimentary and Petroleum Geology. Twelve hundred geologists showed up to hear about Devonian gas resources in the Western Canada Sedimentary Basin. What they heard was crucial to the economic growth of the West.

Over the past several years, the Survey has studied the potential for

new discoveries of natural gas in a geographic area extending from southern Manitoba, through Saskatchewan and Alberta, to the Bowhead Sea. They discovered that about 70 per cent of the natural gas in that area remains to be discovered and the best potential lies in a line from northeastern British Columbia through to the Ledoux oil fields of south central Alberta.

"Our job is to make this basic scientific information available to the oil and gas industry, and exploration geologists take that information

and turn it into places to drill a well," says 36-year-old Kirk Osadetz, a petroleum geologist at the Survey's Institute in Calgary and a principal scientist in the gas resource study.

Four years ago, a report prepared in part by the Calgary group became one of the Survey's best sellers for 1983. Titled Conventional Oil Resources of Western Canada, it was billed as "required reading for Canada's oil industry" by the influential magazine Oilweek. That report suggested there was evidence that the existing 3,300 oil pools in western Canada could be more than doubled. And of the 3.6 billion barrels of oil these new pools would generate, 70 per cent could be found profitably at current world oil prices.

In the past couple of years we have been working in southeastern Saskatchewan in an area of Middle Devonian rocks that had largely been neglected by oil companies," says Osadetz, a University of Toronto graduate. "Our work indicates significant potential for good-sized accumulations of oil and this area has become quite

popular with companies now."

The Institute of Sedimentary and Petroleum Geology illustrates the modern, high-tech approach to identifying and assessing oil and gas resources. Using detailed information about existing oil and gas pools, scientists use sophisticated statistical models to predict the total number of pools in a given area. As Osadetz puts it, it's not unlike the statistical projections that election analysts make to predict winners based on a reporting of only a small sample of the polls.

In areas where there have not been significant discoveries of oil or gas, ISPG researchers turn to the detailed geological history of an area as well as to geochemical analyses of existing wells or associated rock. That information provides the clues to hidden pools.

"The movement in exploration is shifting to small- and medium-sized companies that don't have the resources and analytic facilities to do the types of studies we do," Osadetz says. "Yet they are a vital part of the industry here and we're encouraging them to go out and explore."



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GSC FACTS AND FIGURES

- Dawson City, which was at the centre of Canada's late 19th-century gold rush, was named after George Dawson, the third director of the Survey.
- Among geological surveys of the world, the Survey ranks second only to the British Geological Survey in terms of length of service.
- One of Sir William Logan's greatest achievements was the publication in 1863 of *Geology of Canada*, a 962-page volume that is still used for reference.
- The Polar Continental Shelf Project, a unique federal agency linked to the Survey, operates the logistics support network for scientists working in the Canadian Arctic. Part of the project's mandate is to help Canada maintain sovereignty of its Arctic region.
- Mount Logan in Yukon, Canada's highest mountain peak, was named after Sir William Logan.
- Geological maps of the Elliot Lake area of Ontario, prepared by the Survey's William Collins in the 1920s, proved to be of critical importance in the discovery and development of the mining operations of the largest known reserves of uranium in the world.
- In the early days, all of the GSC scientists and professional staff were men. Today, the Survey employs some 240 women, 75 of whom are in scientific and professional positions.
- About 40 per cent of GSC staff are located outside Ottawa. The Survey also has offices in Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia.

A COLORFUL PAST

In September, 1844, the Legislature of the Province of Canada passed the resolution "that a sum not exceeding one thousand, five hundred pounds should be granted to Her Majesty to defray the probable expense in

causing a Geological Survey of the Province to be made." In April 1845, William Logan was named its first director.

Born in Montreal in 1798, Logan was educated in Britain and had become a recognized authority on

the geology of copper and coal through his survey work in the Swansea district of South Wales. His task with the newly formed Geological Survey of Canada was to survey what was Upper and Lower Canada, to locate and identify its mineral resources, and to determine whether or not the resource base existed to support an industrial economy.

In the early days, the fluently bilingual Logan concentrated on determining Canada's coal resources. But he quickly expanded his summer field searches to include a wide range of minerals.

"I worked like a slave all summer on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, living the life of a savage, inhabiting an open tent, sleeping on the beach in a blanket sack with my feet to the fire, seldom taking my clothes off, eating salt pork and ship's biscuit, occasionally tormented by mosquitoes," he wrote. "I distilled the whole of the coast surveyed, and counted my paces from morning to night for three months. My field book is a curiosity."

By the time Logan retired in 1869, his honors were legion. He had been knighted 13 years earlier, Queen Victoria. He had received the Wollaston Palladium Medal, the highest honor of the Geological Society of London, and the Cross of the Legion of Honour from France.

A host of colorful and charismatic characters followed Logan as director of the Survey. Alfred Sutherland, who kept meticulous notes of everything from the habits of muskrats near Regina to the abundance of turnip and cabbage near Edmonton, extended the Survey's mapping work into western Canada. George Dawson, whose poetic flair combined the sigh of the troubadour with the inventory-taking of the prospector, led the mapping groundwork for the Klondike

ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT

Gold Rush in Yukon. Albert Low, who trudged 500 km on snowshoes from Labrador to Quebec City and then to Ottawa to settle a dispute with a colleague, revealed the vast iron ore deposits of central Labrador and eastern Ungava. He also led the 1903-04 government expedition aboard the DCS Neptune to Hudson Bay and the Arctic Islands, a voyage that marked Canada's first overt exercise of authority over the Arctic Archipelago.

By the early 1900s, the mining industry rivaled forestry and agriculture as a source of export earnings. But CSC staff, numbering only about 30 with an annual budget of some \$60,000, were hard pressed to provide the necessary geological information to the growing mining



Jack Kling and another team member carry on the Survey's traditions here, in the Arctic tundra's north of Yellowknife.

industry. The years of World War I and the 1920s were difficult times for the Survey, as staff joined the war effort or were lured into private industry. In 1935, however, the Survey received a budget of \$1 million as part of a government public works initiative to create employment and stimulate the economy during the Great Depression. This new budget, 10 times larger than the original, catapulted the Survey into the modern age. CSC staff began large-scale mapping of Canada with aircraft.

During World War II, the Survey concentrated its efforts on helping the mining industry find the metals and minerals needed to build tanks, ships, aircraft and weapons required by the troops overseas. It also put



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This supplement was written by Brian Bende, an Ottawa freelance journalist.

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treble Jewish community closely paralleled the rise of Quebec nationalism in the 1970s and 1980s. Burnham, for one, vividly recalls seeing armored vehicles rifling through downtown Montreal and soldiers patrolling government buildings after the kidnapping of Jewish Trade Commissioner James Gosselin by separatist terrorists in October, 1976. For Marcovitz's Jewish community, he adds, the following years were marked by an increasing sense of foreboding, culminating in the 1978 election of the Parti Québécois. A year later, the provincial government enacted Bill 101, which, among other things, required businesses to conduct their affairs largely in French. Burnham likens: "Once they started taking away language rights, our parents reminded us that their lives here started in Germany in the 1930s. They had to go home."

Spawning: Two years after Bill 101 took effect, Burnham headed that advice. He became a business administration student at the University of Toronto. His biggest adjustment was coming to terms with the absent state of his adopted home. While the overall populations of Montreal and Toronto were roughly comparable at that time, he says, Toronto seemed much more sprawling than the predominantly English-language scene of Montreal. As well, the many former Montrealers, Burnham missed the quick access to the universities and libraries of the Laurentians, north of the city. "It was very depressing at first," he says, "because for us Toronto seemed to be very bland, without any job or scene."

Burnham's first impressions of Toronto have not changed. "Everything here is done by the straight dollar," he says. "That's the bottom line. Montreal is more European and cosmopolitan. Toronto is my home—but Montreal will always be my home town." More recently, Burnham has become alarmed at Toronto's rapidly growing crime rate, which has even touched the prosperous and largely Jewish neighborhood where he and his wife, Ruth, 35, a marketing manager with the Bank of Nova Scotia, own a four-bedroom home. With their first child expected in July, the couple now worries about the future of their adopted city. Says Burnham: "We're becoming an American city. It's scary."

Despite his fears and doubts, Burnham says that he has found a sense of economic and political stability in Toronto that he long craved in Quebec. "In the end," he adds, "I've come from Montreal come to Toronto but not reason, certainly. Certainly of jobs, language and fundamental rights."

The search for stability is a common theme among Montrealers who move to Toronto. Among them are lawyer Jack Furman, 34, and his wife, Anne Bello, a conference services representative at the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. They first met as teenagers at a summer camp in the Laurentians. Reunited through a mutual friend in 1986, they finally married in Montreal's venerable Rivoli-Cathedral Hotel in 1987—a year after they moved to Toronto. Like many anglophone Jews of their generation, the Furmans are fluently bilingual.

Furman even completed his law degree in French at the University of Ottawa in 1983. But it was at university, he says, that he began to feel the growing tensions between French- and English-speaking students. When he spoke English during a mock court session, Furman says, his francophone colleagues showed open disdain—and at one point asked the acting judge to force him to speak French.

After graduation, Furman found work as a lawyer in Ottawa. But when he applied for jobs

had prospered by that decision. Still, Furman, who is the youngest of five children, says that he is deeply saddened by the way that economic and political tensions in Quebec have separated his family. His older sister, Quebec-Rite, moved with her husband, when his pharmaceutical company relocated to Toronto. Another sister, Esther, moved to Rochester, N.Y., where she owns a real estate company, while his brother, Stanley, is an interior in Richmond, Va. The only sibling left in Quebec is his 20-year-old sister, Margot Levine, a registered nurse who still lives in the family's old neighborhood of Montreal.

The recent scattering of the Montreal Jewish community will be dramatically underscored on April 17 when about 20 members of the Furmans' extended family return to visit Montreal to celebrate Passover with the Levines. Says Jack Furman: "Bits and pieces of the older generation are still there, but the members of the younger generation have moved to Toronto and elsewhere. We're all over now."

Montreal nurse Jacqueline Richman, 27, has also experienced the emotional upheaval that comes from leaving friends and family behind. Believing that she had little future in Quebec because of linguistic tensions and the city's declining importance as a centre of commerce, Richman moved to the Ontario capital to attend the University of Toronto in 1983. By the time she graduated three years later, Richman had decided that there was little point in returning to her home province. "I applied for one job in Montreal just to appease my father," says Richman, who now works as a physiotherapist at Toronto's Queen Elizabeth Hospital. "But I knew I would end up in Toronto."

largely Like Burnham, Richman lives in a largely Jewish neighborhood in northern Toronto. She rents a large two-bedroom unit in an apartment complex that is almost entirely occupied by young Jewish ex-Montrealers. As a result, she says, she is surrounded by friends and acquaintances. Many of the former Montrealers eventually meet people from home. Richman is one of the few Jews in one of Toronto's established Jewish enclaves, including that leaving her family behind is her greatest regret. But she says never to return.

"As much as I love Montreal," she says, "I went back there and had a family, my children would end up leaving."

For his part, Burnham says that the isolation of families is one of the harshest consequences of the current political tensions in Quebec. While some families have brought their older relatives to Toronto, he adds, many of their sons in Montreal because they feel the cost of living and the pace of Toronto's transformation. "It's very sad," says Burnham. "They don't have the closeness or the grandchildren to visit." And with the continuing uncertainty over Quebec's future, most and most Jewish parents will be travelling Highway 401 to visit their children.



Richman: emotional upheaval

with Montreal law firms, he was repeatedly turned down. Recalls Furman: "They were interested in bilingual people, but what they really wanted was a bilingual French person"—in other words, someone of French-Canadian descent. He returned to Montreal when his mother became ill in 1986. But a few months after his mother died, both he and his future wife moved job offers in Toronto. As a result, they decided to leave their home town for good. "I was not going to sit around Montreal waiting for a French law firm to throw me a bone," says Furman. "We just packed up the car and moved to Toronto."

Last week, as he sat in his 10th-floor office overlooking Toronto city hall, wearing a crisp blue shirt and tie, it was clear that Furman

A RELUCTANT EXODUS

ANGLOPHONES ABANDON THE SPECTACULAR GASPÉ

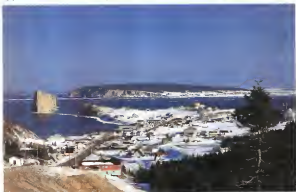
In nearly four years of serving his English parishioners in Quebec's Gaspé region, Rev. Stuart Pike has learned that the road to spiritual solace is often paved by tragedy, tragicomic dining conditions. From his Wisconsin village home near the Gaspé Peninsula's coast, Pike ministered to 1,200 employees in an area that stretches over

to the late 18th century, prayers for dying elders are something that anglophone Gaspésians hear too often.

Like the rugged English, Irish, French and Jersey Island coastlines from which the Gaspésians' ancestors sailed, the Gaspé is a hardly beautiful environment that both culturally and linguistically isolates its inhabitants. For centuries, many

go where there are jobs. If you are a young anglophone, that is usually not in the Gaspé—or anywhere else in Quebec.

The region's official unemployment rate is 14 per cent, which does not include those people who have exhausted their benefits and are now receiving welfare. The recession has been especially hard on two of Gaspé's tradi-



The Gaspé town of Percé: the decline in the English population has led to a cult of problems for those who remain

more than 300 km of winding, roadless roads and includes a dozen churches. On most Sundays, the 11-year-old priest spends at least an hour in his car, driving between parishes and conducting services for congregations that sometimes number no more than six people. Each year, Pike says, he conducts about 30 baptisms, eight weddings and six burials. But while the funerals devalue the size of Pike's flock, the weddings and baptisms add to it. Most of those services, he explains, involve former parishioners "who come back here for family occasions, but now live somewhere else." "Inconvenient that can't meet their needs

Gaspésians scuttled out: emigrate, live as woodsmen, sailors, hunters and fishermen. But recently, the region's greatest export has been people. A Quebec government study last year found that the Gaspé was the only area in the province with a declining population.

John Although the results of the most recent federal census, conducted in 1991, will not be published until later this year, anglophone community representatives privately say that the Gaspé's anglophone population is now just 8,500, compared with 11,000 in 1976. Deborah Albert Peterson, the executive director of a local anglophone support group, "People

total industries—forestry and fishing. Many workers in those sectors now find it impossible to accumulate the 10 weeks of work they need annually to qualify for unemployment insurance. Because of that, Lorrell Peterson, a 34-year-old unemployed welder in the village of Saggy Beach, decided last month to abandon his lifelong home and move with his wife and two children to Spanish Bay in Northern Ontario.

Sad Peterson: "I hate to go, but a wife must have work to feed his family—and there is none here."

For many young Gaspésians, there are too few incentives to stay—and too many reasons

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to leave. Life on a peninsula that lies 400 km from the provincial capital of Quebec City and 620 km from Montreal has always offered more than its share of frustration for small-town youths with big-city dreams. Traditionally, the best and brightest students moved on to study at universities in Montreal, with some of them returning to the area after graduation. Now, most of the 123 students in the English-language section of Gaspé College appear to be looking outside the province for their future. Sean Cardwell Jones, a bilingual 19-year-old who plans to study chemistry at the University of Ottawa beginning next year. "There is not much reason to study in Quebec where there does not seem to be much of a future for English people here."

That sentiment is common among Gaspesian anglophones of all ages—usually expressed more in sorrow than in anger. For generations, anglophones and francophones have lived together peacefully, although sometimes with limited intermingling. Much of the south-eastern coast of the Gaspé—where virtually all of the region's anglophones live—was settled during the 18th and early 19th centuries in a geographically alternating pattern by anglophone and francophone immigrants. The English-speakers who founded towns like Oak Bay, New Richmond and Haptonville were Loyalists who fled from the American Revolution, while francophone immigrants, poor sailors and the hardy men of everyday life severely limited intermarriage among neighbouring villages. Says Albert Patterson, 52, who traces his family's roots back to a soldier in Gen. James Wolfe's army at 1758. "The areas

of angling and prostitution sometimes have little in common. In one case, *Cape d'Espoir*—which means "cape of hope" in its original French—is consistently pronounced, and referred to as, "Cape Despair."

Although the links with the past remain strong, life in the Gaspé has changed. Unlike three generations ago, many Gapsians in their 20s and 30s are now comfortable speaking and working in French. And now perhaps more than ever, many Gapsians are interested more in the elements that unite them than in the political and linguistic divisions that threaten to divide their communities. Says Winston White, a 46-year-old Gaspé businessman who is married to a francophone. "Around

large Michels class, originally Irish, has become almost entirely French-speaking over several generations. And in the town of Gaspé, most of the Percypians now are francophones."

Unsettled: But despite the historic difficulties and as uncertain future, many anglophone Gapsians are fiercely devoted to their home—and ready to make almost any effort to remain there. At age 13, Cynthia Patterson moved with her family from Gaspé to Toronto. But even after completing a master's degree in history at the University of Toronto and beginning a doctorate at Great Britain, Patterson says, "I never stopped thinking of the Gaspé or leaving it." In 1984, at 23, she moved back to the west, prepared to perform odd jobs and to



Peace at Gaspé's Rock Church: "Once you have lived here, it is hard to imagine ever leaving."

being, when you talk about Michels angling people figure you're describing the Gaspé."

But the uncertain future of the region's anglophone community is all too apparent. Over the past 20 years, registration in the English-language Gaspesia Regional School Board has fallen by almost half—not projected 1,233 the full-time count than 2,006 in 1972. And the decline in the English population has led to a much of problems for those who remain.

A 1981 report by the English-rights group Alliance Québec noted that there is virtually no professional infrastructure to serve the English community in the region. More than a decade later, there is still a shortage of anglophone doctors, lawyers and dentists—and virtually all of the area's federal and provincial employees are francophones. Adding to the drain on the anglophone population is the gradual assimilation of traditionally anglophone Gaspé families. In Port-Daniel, the

Anglo-bourgeois French is under to stay. Many are then in a rocky old town in the village of Beauclerc and works in director of a group that is fighting to retain rail and postal services in small towns across Canada. Says Patterson, "If I have any way, I will never leave again."

That passion for the area was touched on those who come from elsewhere. Toronto-born John says that he sometimes hopes that his Gaspé assignment, which is his first career, will also be his last. "For anyone who loves God and nature," he said last week, "there is a sense of content with the people that makes anything seem possible. There you have lived here, it is hard to imagine ever leaving." And for those who love the Gaspé and still must leave it, there is the wrenching knowledge that as they part, there are fewer and fewer left to name goodbye.

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Adding to the drain on the anglophone population is the gradual assimilation of traditionally anglophone Gaspé families. In Port-Daniel, the

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IS THE PARTY OVER?

THE MERGING OF POLICIES LEAVES NOT MUCH TO DEBATE AND LITTLE CHOICE FOR THE VOTER



After an appearance at a grocers' convention during his campaign for re-election, President George Bush suffered media ridicule for having shown assistance at a display of everyday electronic gear used at supermarket checkout counters. He thereby gained the title of technophobe: to go with earlier sniffs at his apt "computer" and "a wing" (a *Wingman* suit). William Clinton, too, has been dogged by scintillating about "decent" in his past. In the run-up to this week's general election in Britain, Prime Minister John Major has been pilloried as what Britons term "a Willie." (It's not his iniquitous Labour Party opponent, Neil Kinnock, who has been dubbed "the Welsh Whodunnit.")

With attention riveted on issues, misstatements and personal peccadilloes, it is hard to hear each argument from either campaign over basic policy. In short, victory seems that much further away than the next few years.

Jimmy Carter—altogether too proudly earnest a president for majority twice in 1980, after one term in the White House—asked last week in Washington: "What issues have been discussed in this campaign so far?" His own was none that he would raise in London. The *Independent* newspaper, for one, lamented "the sterile exchange of platitudes and mindless insults" dominating the British campaign.

The dearth of any heated debate may be no oversight. Apart from superficial differences over details, in view of the modern democracies there seems to be little left to dispute—no choice—among parties of the temper left, right or centre in their fundamental policies and their approaches to governing. In the pluralist transatlantic bastions of capitalist liberal democracy—Britain, the United States, France—and



News, Bush's "sterile exchange of platitudes and mindless insults"

elsewhere, including Canada, politics converges on the centre. Its appeal is tailored to the middle class, the middle-class majority. What is left to the voter as to decide which candidate is best suited—in both senses—to stay in the middle of the road.

Endorse for that is found not only in the American and British elections. In France last week, the Socialist Party government—dependent on the Communist party for its existence—criticized its prime minister of 323 days, Edith Cresson, who attended her more conservative party friends. Cresson, who held office on behalf of an array of unemployed citizens and for a shakedown of industry, was widely regarded as being too strictly partisan. She was faulted within the party for concentrating her campaign in regional elections last month against the ultra-right National Front. She was blamed, as a result, for losses suffered by her party in those local elections.

In Canada, despite early alarms sounded by the conservative business community, the three New Democratic Party provincial governments have taken pains to exclude any of that party's radical social insurance programs. In the eyes of many Canadians, including New Democrats, on most significant policy matters the governments of Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia are comfortably indistinguishable from the others.

Throughout the Euro-American world and beyond, conservatives, socialists, centrists, communists and right-wing extremists on the one hand, right wing appear to agree that capitalism, liberalism and democracy are the best and end-all of human society—in an old term with new currency, "the end of history."

The notion that there can be a conclusion to the process of the human world's development—this idea, adopted from the early 19th-century work of German philosopher Georg Hegel—was popularized in the United States by the Soviet Bloc in Europe was beginning to break up in 1989. Francis Fukuyama, a senior policy adviser in the U.S. state department and now a consultant with the RAND Corp in Washington, argued in an article that summer that liberal democracy has conquered civil ideologies and is "the final form of human government."

His argument provided academic support for the claims by Bush and others that the American way had not only won the Cold War, but may reign supreme. The conclusion that U.S. style liberal democracy constitutes, in Fukuyama's words, "the end point in mankind's ideological evolution" may also have encouraged the reduction of political debate to "platitudes and mindless insults."

Fukuyama now has a expanded and elaborated his argument in a new book, *The End of History and the Last Man*. He suggests that the human impulse to civil will overcome any decline and that earlier philosophers erred in "the last man"—the world citizen resulting from the triumph of liberal democracy, who will be a worldless creature without concern beyond promoting his own self-interest.

But Fukuyama's implicit contention that the argument over political ideology is now complete may be no more durable than the older claims of signifying centuries that the British-American-French model is said to have overcome. Indeed, Fukuyama's views are already the target of attacks by political scientists and philosophers. Scholar Alan Ryan, a specialist in American liberalism at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, N.J., strongly criticized Fukuyama's argument in a recent article in *The New York Review of Books* in "a string of open speculations."

And even before that, Fukuyama's 1989 article was dominated by political philosopher Tom Diney at Dartmouth College. University became a hot bed of controversy for a particular ideology. "In the 1990 edition of his study on the issue, *The Road to Modernism in Politics and Time*, Diney shows no mercy for capitalist liberal democracy or any rival, stating that "there are no winners" and that "ideologies ever can be seen for what they have been all along fraudulent excuses for the use or abuse of power."

There is other evidence that politics, despite its end, is not dead and with or without ideological, will be beyond fundamental future change. In Washington last week, Nancy Andreas, head of the Coalition on Human Needs, an alliance of anti-poverty groups, reminded that "the tendency as this campaign is to talk about poor people as if they are the problem—there is a lot of welfare-bearing, poor people bashing." The richest 2.5 million Americans now have almost as much income as the bottom 160 million. In Canada, according to the latest statistics, in 1990 the median 5.4 million people share \$43.38 out of every \$100 in total personal income; the poorest 5.4 million of the population share \$4.70.

The eternal threat to middle-class politics may well be impoverishment—displaced by economic depression—in the transatlantic world. Fukuyama's "The End of History" may be a premature conclusion. The world's liberal democracies have out of serious social problems, and he adds that they result from "incomplete implementation of the twin principles of liberty and equality on which modern democracy is founded."

CARL MOLLINS

SAVING RUSSIA

After gaining approval, the Russian government issued a new law on October 17 of the country's 20 largest cities regions, giving those greater autonomy. Meanwhile, in Washington, President George Bush announced a \$20-billion international aid package for the former Soviet Union. The fund will be managed by such financial institutions as the International Monetary Fund, with principal backing from the Group of Seven industrialized countries.

LEVEE BOWS OUT

David Levy announced that he was resigning as Israel's foreign minister over the failure of his Liberal party to endorse his appointment as candidate for national elections on June 31. Most of Levy's support comes from working-class Sephardic Jews in Israel, who originally came to Israel from Arab states and who say that they feel neglected by the largely former-European establishment. Observers said that the resignation of Levy, a moderate, could increase the electoral chances of the opposition Labour Party.

BREAKING THE SILENCE

A doctor who worked at Parkland Memorial Hospital in Dallas in November, 1963, said he examined the body of John F. Kennedy's contusions that he believed that the bullet that wounded the president in the head came from the front. The Warren Commission, which investigated the assassination, concluded that Kennedy was shot from behind by lone gunman Lee Harvey Oswald. Dr. Charles Givens said he is a television interview that he had previously been asked to reveal his opinion. The commission did not ask him to testify.

SHUFFLE IN FRANCE

France's first woman prime minister, Edith Cresson, resigned in the wake of Socialist party setbacks in regional elections two weeks ago. The Socialist Commission, 58, was replaced by former finance minister Pierre Bérégoville, 66, a retired Socialist, who is widely regarded as a principal architect of the country's transformation from full-blown socialism to market-oriented pragmatism.

PREDICTING VICTORY

On the 10th anniversary of the start of the war with the United States in Buenos Aires, Argentine President Carlos Menem said that his country would eventually recover the territory by peaceful means. Despite its 1982 defeat, Argentina still claims sovereignty over the area, which it calls the Malvinas.

Gentlemen's rules only

British reserve makes a campaign kinder



Modern politics, conventional wisdom goes, is all about slick packaging and slicker presentation. Britain's current election campaign offers plenty of both, but there are also signs that old-fashioned politicking is not completely dead. Prime Minister John Major grows as much every time he brings out what his biographer his campaign's most striking symbol, a plywood crate held together with masking tape. Major has been travelling the country hawking creeds through a campaign from atop his soapbox. At times, he was drenched with rain and pelted with eggs. But he showed that, in Britain, there is still room for something that the sophisticated style-merchants discourage: actually debating with voters.

To some extent, British campaigns have become less a display version of their American counterparts. The jargon is imported, but the style is not. Party leaders fly halfway across the country to meet with schoolchildren or hospital patients for "public opportunities." Political rallies, including most of Major's, are ticketed affairs that keep potentially hostile questioners safely away. "Politicians," *Guardian* columnist Hugo Young recently wrote, "do not want the public, engaged and random, next them." At Britain's political culture remains markedly different from that of the United States, and politicians and commentators sometimes seem embarrassed by the creeping Americanization of their campaigns.

That conservatism showed last week when the Labour Party staged a great rally for its leader, Neil Kinnock, in the gritty northern city of Sheffield. The \$300,000 extravaganza, complete with a laser light show, rock music and an enormous video screen displaying celebrity endorsements before an audience of 10,000 revelers, was a raucous antic-establisher for a party that made party for the first time since 1979. But it was light years away from Labour's traditional doctrip image. And the reviews were mixed, with many commentators doubtfully describing the event as typical, unrepresentative and even "American-style."

In fact, Britain's parties have learned many

campaign techniques from U.S. political professionals. Before the campaign, Labour hired the leading Democratic consulting firm Dink and Stone, while the Tories have used Republican Richard Wurkin, best known for masterminding Ronald Reagan's election campaign in 1980. The Americans introduced the British to sophisticated polling techniques and well-oiled public analyses, which use small groups to test the effectiveness of advertisements. But both parties try to keep their American experts well out of sight, for fear that voters will associate treacherousness with shadow campaigns that avoid issues and feature negative advertising.



Labour Party Leader Neil Kinnock (wearing) at rally in Sheffield, creating Americanization of his campaign.

Even so, cynicism abounds. The Conservatives, handicapped by a routinized, bare run of attacking Labour as atomically wrongheaded. They targeted Kinnock himself, labeling him "Hussein Kinnock—the greatest serial spender in history." After Hansel Lantz, the fictional comical in *Silver of the Lark*, but although some British analysts believe what they are as an ill-planned negative campaign, by American standards it is positively gentlemanly. The British campaign has been almost entirely free of the vicious character attacks that are now commonplace in U.S. elections. Both the Tories and Labour are competing for voters leaning

towards the central Liberal Democrats, led by Paddy Ashdown, but neither party has even mentioned Ashdown's pre-election admission that he had an extramarital affair with a secretary. Both parties know that attacks on a candidate's personal life could rebound on the voters.

Instead, the most negative propaganda comes from the tabloids that line up on both sides—although most avoid the Times, even between elections, the tabloids do not pretend to be politically neutral. But now, with Labour ahead in the polls, the Conservative papers have become almost hysterical in their coverage. Typically, on top of what was supposedly a new story, a front-page headline in the *Daily Daily Express* read, "LABOUR BLINDERS ON AND ON," while the *anti-Conservative Daily Mail* had claimed as well "LABOUR'S NEW RACIAList INKING."

Some editors have gone even farther. *Daily Express* editor Nicholas Lloyd assigned the paper's Moscow correspondent, Peter Ho-



Brown takes his insurgent campaign to the streets: a 'barrage of mudslingers'

Campaign carnival

Candidates run the New York City gauntlet



not Edmund Jerry Brown for promising to create as his mottos motto: *Joe Joe Joe*—who once mocked the city's large Jewish population by referring to New York as "Yiddisland." In fact, Brooklyn's state assemblyman, Don Blumenthal, heckled Brown as rudely as any politician who has been allowed to go through this barrage of mudslingers.

"Blimey," the exclamation for the preposterous insult of a boy, and "Bastard-Bast Clinton," after starting the Democratic firestorm by saying, "At least you haven't been accused of having a relationship with another woman." Louis demanded to know what Clinton would do if TV sitcom star Roseanne Barr Arnold claimed to have had an affair with him. "Believe me, if I did that, I'd file a preliminary suit against her," Clinton shot back. "I could finance the rest of this campaign."

With that, Clinton poured one of the tests that makes the New York primary such a unique and brutal. Not only must a candidate withstand the daily assaults of the city's two

hottest tabloids, but in the nation's media capital, where denunciations and repudiations are made and set overnight and the competition, like the traffic can be cutthroat, any apparent for public office also has to demonstrate an essential New York attitude: a sense of humor. Said Brown: "If he hadn't been funny, we would have blown him up." In fact, in a campaign rich in personal attacks and free-floating voter fury, many analysts complain that the New York contest has become merely the quinquennial of a self-destructive American political process. Still, as with everything else in New York, there are conflicting views. Even so, said Saul Alan Sussman, political cartoonist for *The Village Voice*: "This city is an intense, intense place, and if someone wants to be president, they should be able to deal with it. It's good for them to go through this barrage of mudslingers."

But some of the campaign's polemic-contrast and turns seemed as peculiar to the Big Apple's carnival style that it would be hard to imagine their recurring elsewhere. In what other city could a voter file a rally proposal such as that assembled by Brown in Washington Square last month? While a crowd of 2,000 went for the candidate for over an hour, organizers recycled appearances by warm-up comedians preening long and loud. Meanwhile, pop star Carly Simon offered a spontaneous version of her hit, *Let's shadow and lead* (poet Allen Ginsberg offering a denunciation of Operation Desert Storm called "After the Big Parade,"

Stopping by a voter-organization drive that Jackson was conducting, he topped onto the flatbed-truck stage and turned the event into his own bid to attract black voters. Pushing Jackson in his prospective running race, he was joined the approving crowd in a march to the city's board of elections, carrying a huge flagpole over his shoulder.

Brown has revealed in the media spotlight ever since his upset victory over Clinton in the March 24 Connecticut primary. And last week, too, Clinton, he also felt in double duty. But unlike Clinton, Brown brushed off the attacks by admitting his sin. A day after Clinton had been grilled relentlessly on the Phil Donato show about his evasive answers to allegations of wrongdoing, his brother-in-law (Clinton's half-brother) and reputedly married—by conducting a question that he had not even been directly asked: "If you want to know if I go out with girls," he said, "I do."

But for Clinton, who has spent much of his political career attempting to please disparate groups, running the New York gauntlet was clearly an offer to turn an in southern senator was to his nation. Finally revealing that he had tried smoking marijuana, but without inhaling, while studying at Oxford University, he had to endure the girlish-titled headline, "Bill says I went to get." As the week went on, he grew increasingly tense, finally appearing during a meeting with editors of *Long Island's Newsday*, calling the political system "just crazy—nobody keeps control of what you do anymore." But he outburst seemed unlikely to discourage New Yorkers from cheering what, *Newsday* columnist Gail Sheehy called "the great right to spend two weeks touring candidates to the best of one's ability." And whatever the results of this week's vote, Clinton might well prove in a mood that, as Frank Sinatra says of the city at which he has the Democratic nomination in July, "If a person can make it there, he can make it anywhere."

MICHAEL McDONALD in New York City

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

A dangerous date

The United Nations targets terrorism

The April 15 deadline carried a message of menace. It was on that date in 1986 that U.S. warplanes attacked Libya in retaliation for the terrorist bombing of a West Berlin nightclub that killed an American serviceman. The 11-month nightmare raid on Tripoli and Benghazi left dozens of people dead, including Col. Muammar Gaddafi's 15-month-old adopted daughter, Hana. Last week, the United Nations Security Council set that anniversary as the date by which Libya must surrender two suspects indicted for a 2004 airline bombing, or face economic and diplomatic sanctions—and it did not rule out military action to enforce the resolution.

Only twice before in its 47-year history has the United Nations authorized the use of force—after the start of the 1960-1963 Korean War, and in 1990 during the Persian Gulf crisis. But the action against Iraq, observers say, signalled a turning point for the world body, now trying to redefine its role in the post-

Cold War era. "This is the new, activist UN," said former Canadian ambassador to the United Nations Yves Fortin. "It is saying that we must live under the rule of law, and the UN Charter requires us to deal with threats to international peace and security."

The evolution of the 15-member United Nations is already evident in the differences between the two Libya decisions. In 1986, many Western leaders denounced Gaddafi's demand that the UN condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, an action that some critics called "Rumsfeld diplomacy." Reagan's successor, George Bush, abandoned that pro-Western approach. In September, 1990, Bush told a joint session of Congress that Iraq's August conquest of Kuwait was "the first assault on the new world that we seek, a world where the rule of law supplants the rule of the jungle."

Under UN auspices, the President forged an alliance of 33 nations, including Canada, to drive Iraq troops out of Kuwait in February,

1991. And the latest decision by the United States, Britain and France to use the on-call body to pressure Libya to release the bombing suspects demonstrates that new significance. In the U.S. journal *Foreign Affairs*, international expert Bruce Kestel and James S. Saterfield wrote that, in its response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, "The Security Council has shown that it has the capacity to initiate collective measures essential for the maintenance of peace in a new world order."

One reason for the United Nations' new visibility is consensus. During the Cold War era, the Security Council's five permanent members—the United States, Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China—often hamstringed the United Nations by vetoing measures that they did not favor. Now, Russia, which abstained the Soviet Union's seat, usually cooperates with Western members on most issues. And China, although still an outsider, tends to abstain rather than use its veto on contentious resolutions. Last week, Russia voted for Libyan sanctions, China abstained.

As a result of the new co-operative mood, the United Nations has become much more interventionist. Its new secretary general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the 69-year-old Egyptian diplomat who succeeded Javier Pérez de Cuellar on Jan. 1, is so expert in international law who helped to negotiate the 1978 Camp David peace agreement between his country and Israel. His stated goal in his new job is "preventive diplomacy" which implies for dis-



Gaddafi: facing punitive sanctions

patching envoys to trouble spots around the world to defuse political crises before they escalate into armed conflict.

Backdropping on the work of his predecessor, Boutros-Ghali recently underscored the most ambitious post-Cold War mission ever attempted by the United Nations: in Yugoslavia and Cambodia, 30,000 blue-helmeted soldiers, including 1,200 Canadians, are assigned to disarm and detain combatants and to prepare the way for the return of hundreds of thousands of refugees. As well, they will try to guarantee that political negotiations in Yugoslavia and democratic elections in Cambodia can be conducted—goals that extend far beyond peacekeeping.

Libya presents yet another unique challenge for the United Nations. Under the sanctions, which the Security Council adopted by a vote of 10 to 6, with five abstentions, all commerce has an obligation to sever air links and arms dealings with the North African nation and to reduce the size of Libya's diplomatic and consular missions abroad. The diplomatic take effect on April 15, unless Gaddafi hands over two Libyan intelligence agents for trial in the United States or Britain. The two men are suspects in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, which killed 270 people, including two Canadians. Libya also has to cooperate with an investigation into the 1989 bombing of French UTA Flight 772 over Niger that killed 171 people, including one Canadian. A French judge wants to question two Libyans

in that case, one of whom is a brother-in-law of Gaddafi.

However, unlike the vengeful Arabs who support that the United Nations stepped for the Persian Gulf War resolutions against Iraq, Arab nations are deeply divided on the Libya sanctions. As one Egyptian diplomat put it, "Then, you had the man holding a knife dripping blood. What we have in this Libyan dispute is an execution."

For its part, Libya denounced the UN resolution as "a crusade war against Arabs and Muslims." And in Tripoli, angry mobs attacked the embassies of Security Council members who had voted for sanctions. In Iraq, itself an international pariah, the government of Saddam Hussein in an official statement urged all Arabs to reject the sanctions and what it called the "new Zionist world order." But even the more moderate Arab League warned that the UN resolution could have "dangerous consequences," and it urged its 23 members to find a solution to Libya's crisis with the West before April 15.

One senior Egyptian military analyst predicted a potentially devastating split in Arab ranks, with one camp siding with Libya and the other siding with the Security Council resolution. With the Cold War so recently ended, another chill, in Arab-Western relations, is seething elsewhere through the emerging new world order.

ANDREW BILINKI and JULIUS MACKENZIE in Washington

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THE RATING GAME

HOW FOUR FIRMS GOVERN THE MONEY MARKETS AND RATTLED THE WEALTHY REICHMANNS

Although the announcements emerged quietly during the past 12 months, they had the impact of a well-timed artillery barrage. First in May, 1991, and again in August, December and in February, 1992, various credit analysts lowered their assessments of the world's largest financials—Toronto's Reichmanns family. Then, last month, rumors began to circulate among investors in Canada's \$39-billion market in what is called commercial paper, usually callable corporate debt with due dates normally under 90 days, that the Reichmanns had reneged on a loan payment. The rumors were never confirmed, but investors, already skittish, reacted with something close to panic, selling to raise about \$180 million worth of Reichmanns paper. To Walter Schneider, president of Toronto-based Dominion Bond Rating Service, that response was hard to explain. "If you view it rationally, the market overreacted irrationally," said the man whose own increasingly confident assessments of the Reichmanns' debts had contributed to the panic.

For the Reichmanns, the market's exaggerated response posed major problems. The company this week was consuming its efforts to restructure an estimated \$20-billion debt to satisfy jittery lenders. But beyond the disaster averted in the boardroom of the Reichmanns' holding company, Olympia & York Developments Ltd. (OYD), the events underscored the enormous influence that Schneider and his counterparts at three other credit-rating companies wield over corporate fortunes. Not only can these judgments make a difference of millions of dollars to a company's borrowing costs, but, as the Reichmanns discovered, they can even threaten to tip entire companies into bankruptcy. Sud Anthony Walker, treasurer of West-coast Energy Inc. in Vancouver, "rightly or

wrongly, the credit analysts have very significant influence over a company's cost of capital."

Credit ratings have played a pivotal, if low-profile, role in Canadian financial circles since the 1960s, when governments and corporations first began to issue short-term promissory notes in a low-interest environment to bank loans. Money-market lenders rely on the ratings' assessments to determine which corporations and governments are worthy of credit—and at what price. With that in mind, would-be borrowers pay fees of about \$20,000 and often open their own sensitive accounts to credit analysts as an attempt to secure the most favorable rating. In turn, investors pay \$1,000 a year and up to \$10,000 to the credit reports based on that research. And as corporations and governments increasingly have moved beyond their own borders, the analysts' influence has steadily increased. Sud

William Chambers, who analyzes Canadian companies for New York City-based rating firm Standard & Poor's Corp., "International ratings not standards help to explain attitudes to investors around the world. It's an efficient way to explain life to Indonesians."

In addition to Schneider's Dominion Bond Rating Service and Chambers' Standard & Poor's, two other independent rating companies also cover Canadian markets: Montreal-based Canada Bond Rating Service and

Moody's Investors Service of New York City. The two U.S. firms, both of which were established early in the century, each have about 1,000 analysts who rate thousands of governments and corporations worldwide. In contrast, Dominion Bond Rating Service, whose eight analysts rate 350 companies and governments, and Canada Bond Rating Service, with 15 analysts rating 245 companies and 100 governments, are both less than 20 years old.

Without a credit rating from at least one of the four, however, borrowers shut themselves out in the money market. Lenders in that market exclude highly conservative insurance companies, pension funds and banks, which extend money only for best guarantees and rely on safe securities. As a result, lenders leave the blustery blue-chip corporations and tolerate the blustery, blue-chip of risk, Sud Brian Reynolds, Schneider's counterpart at Canada Bond Rating Service. "There is no liquidity in the money market. As such, you will be dumped in a moment."

Even less dramatic reactions than the one doled out at the Reichmanns can prove costly. A lower credit rating translates into sharply higher interest charges. The difference could be worth as much as \$1,575 a day in higher interest payments on a \$100-million issue of commercial debt—typical for Canadian companies. Even worse, when credit ratings sink too low, many companies feel, may say, that they cannot bid lenders at any price.

The analysts' judgments are well considered. Among the financial factors that ratings weigh are debt-to-equity ratios and interest coverage. These benchmarks are supplemented by assessments of a company's position within its industry, its competition, product demand, business risk and track record. But ratings also depend upon managers who threaten to cut costs to avoid rating downgrades, assessments. Declared Reynolds, for one: "We sit in the middle of the devil's triangle of debt, over-indebted, assets and creditors. We are professionally neutral."

At the same time, analysts say that they do not lower a borrower's credit rating frivolously or without warning. Indeed, before lowering a company's rating, analysts usually send a letter to managers. The warning is intended to allow companies to arrive from the commercial paper market gradually, making an orderly transition to other sources of short-term funding. Sud Reynolds: "We believe it is our role to help a company to preserve its credit quality if at all possible. We never suggest what management might do to avoid a downgrade."

For Toronto's Reichmanns, however, any such consideration plainly came too late. Despite Schneider's judgment that OYD's debt is "manageable," the money markets have reacted by shunning all of its short-term commercial paper. As a result, a spokesman for the company announced last week that it had raised \$70 million worth of commercial paper that came due over the past two weeks, and would pay a further \$183 million owing due over the next several weeks. For the Reichmanns, the neutrality of the credit analysts clearly does not extend to the investors who rely on them.

DEBORAH MURPHY

Business Notes

BEIR WAGES

Foreign Trade Minister Michael Wilson announced that the provinces will open their markets to imported beer after the next five years. That will comply with international trade ruling that provincial pricing and distribution regulations are discriminatory. Ontario has since announced plans to introduce legislation to comply with the ruling. Interprovincial barriers to the sale of beer are also scheduled to drop on July 1.

BANKS CASH IN

Canadian chartered banks have tripled their revenues from service fees and other charges over the past decade. A study by Statistics Canada showed that service-charge revenues for the banks were \$1.49 billion in 1980 and \$5.47 billion in 1991. At the same time, revenue from interest charges rose by 49 per cent over the same period to \$31.46 billion last year.

BOARDROOM SHUFFLES

The Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce named A. L. (Al) Flood, 56, as its next chairman and chief executive officer. Now president of the bank's corporate banking group, Flood will replace Donald Fullerton, who will retire in June. Meanwhile, at CNA Inc., Lynette Bell-McLean has replaced Raymond Cyr at the helm. Cyr returns the post of chief chairman, and also becomes the chairman and chief executive officer of BCE Canada Telecom Group, a BCE subsidiary. Wilson is now president and chief executive officer of the communications conglomerate, the holding company for Bell Canada.

THE REICHMANNS WITCH

The senior management of troubled Olympia & York Developments Ltd. (OYD) postponed a first working meeting with their lenders scheduled for this week. At the same time, the invitation to attend the meeting, now planned for April 13, was extended from the 10 largest OYD lenders to include all of the firm's approximately 300 outstanding creditors. OYD, a real estate and investments holding company owned by Toronto's Reichmanns family, owns an estimated \$20 billion. In a statement, the company said that it accepted the extra time to prepare a detailed debt restructuring proposal for consideration by the company's lenders. Meanwhile, a spokesman for the company in London said that OYD had not made a planned \$40-million contribution to the cost of a survey expansion intended to serve as Cauby Wharf project in the British capital.

GRADING TO PERFORMERS

MacMillan Bloedel

One of North America's largest forest products companies, MacMillan, as it is widely known, has operations in Canada and the United States & manages 3.7 million acres of timberland, 2.5 million of that in British Columbia.

Assets: \$3.8 billion

Revenues: \$2.7 billion

Losses: \$23.4 million

Outstanding debt: \$1.4 billion

Commercial paper ratings:

DBRS: B+ (High)

S&P: A-2

Unor Gas

A wholly owned subsidiary of Union Energy Inc., the company buys, distributes and sells natural gas to more than 613,000 customers in southwestern Ontario. It also stores and transports natural gas for other utilities in Ontario, Quebec and the United States.

Assets: \$2.2 billion

Revenues: \$1.2 billion

Profit: \$57.7 million

Outstanding debt: \$1.3 billion

Commercial paper ratings:

DBRS: B+ (Low)

DBRS: A-1

Olympia & York

Olympia & York is the world's largest privately held real estate developer, with interests in more than 60 office buildings in Britain and North America.

Assets: \$34 billion (net) Revenues: N/A
Profit: N/A Outstanding debt: \$23 billion (net)

Commercial paper ratings:

DBRS: B+ (High)

S&P: Triple B**

On March 15, S&P announced that it would maintain the status of commercial paper that it had issued through subsidiary OYD Commercial Paper II Inc. ("OYD") and OYD Master Street Finance Corp. ("OYD").

Bell Canada

Bell Canada, a wholly owned subsidiary of parent company BCE Inc., is Canada's largest supplier of telecommunications services. Bell provides telephone services to nearly seven million customers in Ontario, Quebec and the Northwest Territories.

Assets: \$1.1 billion

Revenues: \$7.7 billion

Profit: \$1.3 billion

Outstanding debt: \$5.2 billion

Commercial paper ratings:

DBRS: AA (High)

Moody's: A1



My Way—the Clyde Wells version

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

When he was asked how he felt after becoming a Wagner opera, Mark Twain thought (for a minute and allowed that, well, it wasn't quite as bad as it sounded. But Canada's constitutional wrangle is just as bad as it sounds, and despite some fairly softening in the Quebec position, it isn't over yet.

One of the chief players in the nation-threatening drama that will unfold over the next six months will be Clyde Wells, 54, premier of Canada's poorest province. No citizens stand to lose more if Canada disintegrates than Newfoundlanders. A study by the independent C.D. Howe Institute last month claims that the separatist province would lose half its population if cut adrift from federal transfer payments to the benefit of the country, since nearly half of its revenues come from Ottawa.

Unemployment in Wells's province now runs at 13 per cent, nearly twice the national average, with more than 5,000 jobs lost recently through fishery cutbacks and many more payrolls endangered if, as it now appears, development of the Miramichi estuary will be postponed. Now if this has slowed the premier's stern view of the constitutional process. He is as determined as he was at the time of Meech Lake to stand on principles—his principles—and because that conviction has found a significant echo in English Canada, his persistence and his ideas will dominate the negotiations in the constitutional talks now towards the inevitable eighth session. "It's not a matter of giving in on either side as though you're trying to sell something to somebody," he told me during a recent interview. "You build a constitution based on principles, the fundamental principles of democracy where all citizens are treated equally. I don't believe you can write a country's constitution as the basis of getting people to sit around a table and say, 'If I agree that we can have clause 3-4, I'll agree you can have clause 5-6.' You just don't have constitutional principles that way."

Our conversation kept returning to his main-

The Newfoundland premier is as determined now as at Meech Lake to stand on principles—his principles

tenet that no province or individual can have special or even different privileges. "When one province or special-interest group asks for some special protection, it's just a human nature that other groups will also demand special arrangements," he points out. "British Columbia or Saskatchewan may not have a province that Ontario or Quebec—and so more," he says.

Wells does allow—and he certainly would never accommodate that he did at the time of Meech Lake—two variations in the application of this immutable principle. They are for the aboriginal peoples and for Quebec. "The white men who originally populated this country decided it would have certain characteristics and a certain constitution that left out any way of dealing with the Indians," he says. "It was a very different circumstance, and that's not negotiable. So we've got some serious correcting to do. We want people for the aboriginals' self-government within an independent kind of, all within Canadian sovereignty, of course."

In terms of Quebec, Wells recognizes its distinct language and legal system as well as the province's different cultural background, and readily concedes that those distinctions were part of the original act of Confederation in

1867. "I believe we're bound to honor that commitment," he acknowledges. "It's a kind of third equality of Canada. We have equal citizens and equal provinces, but there's also that deal between the two founding languages, legal and cultural groups."

"The problem," he continues, "is that Quebec has periodically suggested that for these reasons it should enjoy special status or a constitutional veto and that we should recognize there are two nations in Canada, and ultimately acknowledge the existence of a distinct society with its own set of powers."

He advocates a limited form of veto exercised by representatives from Quebec in such specific areas as language and the civil code, as well as cultural prerogatives. But he insists that the option Confederation be confined in a way that would not assign to Quebec the role and responsibility for governing and providing itself as a distinct society, because that would create the kind of special status that he is against.

Wells objects to the fact that Quebec has placed the rest of the country in a difficult position with its attitude of "Make us an offer and then we'll consider it," instead of plainly stating its demands and remaining within the negotiating process. "People, especially in Western Canada, are resentful of this attitude and the fact it seems there's never any give in the Quebec position," he notes.

Still, he is convinced that Quebec is not balking. "They're determined," he says. "But that doesn't alter the principle of where to set the limits Quebec says. The only thing we'll accept is if every province a substantive to our view. 'Must we accept that? The answer is clearly no. You've got to draw a line somewhere. But Quebec is a very hard bargainer.'"

Unlike most constitutional purists, Wells acknowledges that even though there is nothing in the Constitution to spare separation, Quebec could not be kept within Confederation if it chose not to leave. But Wells says that there is a serious question of the appropriate borders for an independent Quebec. And he does not believe that it will be possible in the coming negotiations to convince people outside Quebec that the province should be granted a special deal not available to everyone else, and that this is the issue on which the country might finally fall apart.

"I wasn't born a Canadian," he remarked over the end of our interview. "Because Newfoundland was not part of Canada then. But I became a Canadian [Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949] and I'm proud to be one. I can't imagine being anything else."

Wells sounds valiant in defense of his principles and deeply apprehensive about the forthcoming negotiations. But when it comes to the crux, where the provinces have to choose what will provide for and balanced treatment of Canadians, Wells says there must be no special privilege for any group. "You can't ask for abandonment of principles," he says. "You can only ask for moderation of those principles in the extent that circumstances may justify. But you just cannot let me to abandon them."

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Fighting the blues

A shakeup at IBM leads to lower prices

Just when Alcorn and Wilton Gates have a shared future—some of it strained. As chairman of Alcorn, N.E. based Computer Corp. International Business Machines Corp. (and, Alcorn later joined Microsoft Corp., in Redmond, Wash., to develop what quickly became the most successful new software of the 1980s, the operating system that manages the vast majority of all personal computers. But the companies diverged over the best way to develop the next generation of software. Now, the two executives meet regularly to discuss their mutual goals on the eastern grounds of the United Way campaign, both men sit on the charity's America board of directors. Gates says that their relationship is a civil one. But his opinion of his rival's latest product is markedly ambivalent. When the unveiled its newest generation of personal-computer software last week, the blind-spoken Gates declared "IBM still can't do it right. So far, they are really hounding themselves."

That was a colorful protest. Microsoft's own Windows program is the main competition to IBM's new software product, called, there is little doubt that the company whose motto were once "anytime, anywhere" with computers has been badly hurt in recent years. After writing the standard for personal computers in the early 1980s, IBM watched as its sales give way to so-called clones—similar products manufactured more cheaply by smaller, smaller companies. Worldwide last year, IBM, which currently employs 344,000 people, lost \$2.3 billion on revenues of \$17 billion, its worst result since 1916. But the company, which has won four Nobel Prizes for its research accomplishments, over the years, is fighting back—with results that should benefit Canadian consumers. In addition to last week's release of the latest version of its OS/2 program, designed to make computers more versatile and easier to use, IBM is also working to shed its image as a stodgy, overpriced, by-the-book company. It's doing this by slashing prices on many of its existing computer models, moving to deliver new products more quickly to market and opening its first discount sales center in North America next month, in Toronto.

IBM has lost ground to more aggressive competitors in several key market areas. Although

the company introduced its first personal computer several years after other makers introduced their own models, it's doing quite well because the dominant one, Apple's, wanted the reliability that they associated with IBM's reputation. Within three years, however, Apple's share of the personal-computer market began falling, as competitors introduced a growing number of clones. Modeled on IBM's design and able to run software made for IBM, the clones sold for 30 to 40 per cent less than IBM's products. Acknowledged Wilton Ekbergman,



Clarks struck an IBM order over in Toronto due to open next month, fighting the clones

president of Melkies, Ont.-based IBM Canada Ltd. "In the personal-computer industry, you can make the product cheaper, faster, reliably, year after year after year. And the barriers to entry are low—anyone can start in a garage putting together bits and pieces and make a personal computer." As a result, according to Ekbergman, "We have 30,000 competitors in the computer industry today." Those competitors, moreover, are bringing in the U.S.-based giant with 17 per cent of personal-computer sales by revenue in 1990, the last year for which statistics are available—down

from nearly from 90 per cent in the early 1980s. Meanwhile, the evolution of increasingly powerful small computers, either standing alone or connected to networks, has increased the demand for large mainframe computers—long an IBM strength. In 1990, IBM sold \$1.8 billion in large computer products, holding about 40 per cent of the world market. That was barely half of the 70-per-cent market share the company claimed 30 years ago. The decline in demand for such massive mainframe computers was not helped by contributed to IBM's \$4.1-billion overall drop in sales last year compared with 1989, when the company earned a \$7.6-billion profit or revenues of \$42 billion.

IBM's performance in Canada reflected its worldwide decline. Evans Research Corp., a Toronto company making market analysis, estimated that in 1989 IBM had the largest share of the Canadian market for personal computers, selling 320,000 units, or almost 1.8 per cent of all those sold. Its leading competitor, Compaq, sold 140,000 units. Computer Inc., sold 75,000 personal computers—or 4.8

percent of the market. After the fiscal 1990-year scientist who was developed by the mother of the computer, the industry's most successful executives to analyse what they considered to be the last competitors competing against IBM in each of its main markets. Those conclusions, not

confusing, including the private good and industry club that IBM Canada has announced and Toronto's own IBM. The company's most successful executives to analyse what they considered to be the last competitors competing against IBM in each of its main markets. Those conclusions, not



Alcorn a large salary cut

The first changes are already evident. First of the company's top executives, including Alcorn, lost pay cuts last year amounting to 40 per cent of their compensation. In Alcorn's case, his total compensation fell to \$1.8 million in 1991 from \$2.3 million the year before. Meanwhile, IBM has begun to shed employees by the end of 1992. Alcorn plans to have individual's workload to about 330,000 people—60,000 fewer than worked for the company in 1988. And the company has begun jacking some non-essential

products, including the private good and industry club that IBM Canada has announced and Toronto's own IBM. The company's most successful executives to analyse what they considered to be the last competitors competing against IBM in each of its main markets. Those conclusions, not

standing problems and its new revenue. After making several cuts, IBM has begun to shed employees by the end of 1992. Alcorn plans to have individual's workload to about 330,000 people—60,000 fewer than worked for the company in 1988. And the company has begun jacking some non-essential

THE SHOWDOWN IN THE WINDOW

With more million copies in use, Microsoft Windows 3.0 is the most popular graphics user interface (GUI) for the personal computer. It is the most powerful tool for the desktop of competing, pioneering operators with visually appealing menus of interactive choices instead of a daunting list of keyboard commands to remember. And among the majority of personal computers that run on the MS-DOS operating system, Windows will use less for itself as well as for the user. Although IBM's business is now in a position to challenge Microsoft's dominance, IBM's recent OS/2 operating system, but a critical advantage: embedded deep in its design, unlike Windows, which depends on MS-DOS to coordinate the basic functions of a personal computer, OS/2 provides its own, comfortably more sophisticated operating system. That allows it to take full advantage of the more

powerful 32-bit processors to make more powerful personal computers (Windows employs a 16-bit system). In addition to such conveniences as being able to assign larger amounts to individual files, the additional power of Windows software is evident in many ways: more than 100 programs can use OS/2 to access one application to compute several tasks at the same time, as well as run multiple applications more quickly and easily than Windows can. It also provides a more powerful screen graphics than does Windows. OS/2 matches Windows' capacity for letter address. It also accepts all address windows for its 32-bit address—more naming applications that were designed to work with Windows. For cost-conscious buyers, substantial features of Windows have already been put in place, but they provide an incentive to choose IBM's technically superior OS/2 over its more engagingly named rival.

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MEDICINE

Sex and psychiatry

A suicide sparks debate about treatment techniques

In 2006, a troubled 23-year-old student, Paul Luzzo, went to Dr. Margaret Bessing for psychiatric counseling during his third year at Harvard Medical School in Cambridge, Mass. Bessing, then 43, says that she gave Luzzo children's books to read as an effort to stabilize his behavior and instructions to call her "Mom" as part of an attempt to deal with the aftermath of childhood abuse. But Luzzo's family claims that Bessing, an assistant professor of psychiatry at Harvard, convinced her patient that he was her three-year-old son, wrote pornography fantasies involving him and forced him to engage her in sadomasochistic fantasies and sexual intercourse. They add that Bessing stopped treating Luzzo in June, 1990, when he could no longer afford to pay her. Nine months later, he killed himself.

In November, his family launched a lawsuit against Bessing in Boston's Middlesex Superior Court, claiming that she engaged in malpractice by fostering a dangerous psychological dependence that led to Luzzo's death from a cocaine overdose. Meanwhile, officials at the Massachusetts Board of Registration in Medicine last week cleared the psychiatrist of charges that she had further inquiry into the ethics of her techniques and practices.

The allegations against Bessing shook the Boston medical establishment and sparked an intense debate about what many psychiatrists say are thoroughly well-established therapeutic techniques. Boston lawyer Andrew Meyer, who is representing Luzzo's family in the wrongful-death and malpractice suit, last month filed in court several thousand letters and notes cards allegedly written by Bessing. One card states that "You are Mom and I love you and you love me

very, very much. See that 20 times," while another refers to "phenomenal sex." In an affidavit filed last week in connection with the lawsuit, Amy Strommen, a clinical social worker who treated Luzzo, stated that Bessing "talked about her erotic sexual feelings and sexual attraction towards a *Minor American medical student*" in a teaching seminar. In a statement to the press released by her lawyer, Bessing rejected Strommen's claim.

In her statement to the board of registration, Bessing said that the notes cards were intended to help Luzzo "control his depressive and suicidal thoughts." She added that the reference to "phenomenal sex" was a phrase that Luzzo seemed to hear from his girlfriend.

Still, some mental-health experts criticized Bessing's approach as potentially damaging to a patient. "This deviant course of 'therapy' created appropriate boundaries of the psychiatrist-patient relationship and violated acceptable standards of psychiatric practice," wrote Dr. Larry Strassman, who is expected to be called as a witness for the Luzzo family, in a statement on file in the court records. Others said that the most troubling blow may be to the profession itself.

Said Dr. Elizabeth Reid, president of the Boston Psychoanalytic Society and Institute: "The real tragedy is that people will be frightened of therapy that could be very helpful."

Bessing told the board of registration that she developed a "new" form of treatment for Luzzo after conventional methods failed. She said that Luzzo claimed to be a "victim of horrendous childhood abuse" and said that he suffered from "homicidal, violent and delusional thoughts" as well as "overwhelming feelings of anxiety and rage." She added, "Many psychiatrists would not have even attempted to treat him," Bessing



Bessing: sexual fantasies

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said that the student admitted in November, 1995, that he broke into her apartment and stole dozens of pages of notes in which Beane-Boag had described her own sexual fantasies. According to a report by the board of registration, some of the fantasies may have involved *Loose*.

Loose's family members claim that he only developed symptoms of abuse after he entered treatment with the prominent psychiatrist, Loose's sister, Peter Williams, a critical-care nurse in El Paso, Texas, and that her brother was a bright student who had no record of childhood abuse or previous mental illness. After he started therapy to combat loneliness and depression, Williams says that she immediately sensed a change in his behavior. By 1997, Williams said that Loose was seeing Beane-Boag five days a week and consistently sought her permission for doing things, as though she were his mother. "He was speaking like a 10-year-old," said Williams. "He even walked like a little boy."

The sensational accusations intensified debate about the psychiatric practice of helping patients regress to earlier stages of their life, to confront traumatic events of childhood or infancy. Some psychiatrists contend that many people block out unpleasant events and remain unaware of their impact until they are forced to face them. "Controlled regression is part of almost every therapy," said Reid. "In a safe environment, it can be extremely helpful." Other specialists in the field claim that the technique is outdated and potentially harmful. "You should help patients to master the feelings, not relive them," said Dr. Stanley Gorles, a professor of psychiatry at the University of Toronto. "This should not revert to the state of a three-year-old." Last week Beane-Boag dismissed the charges against her as "outlandish and false" and argued that she provided Loose with "life-saving treatment for four years."

Beane-Boag's defenders say that the nature of psychiatry often leaves therapists open to allegations of exploitation. Experts contend that the trust and intimacy needed to help disturbed patients deal with emotional issues can also allow the patient to distort the relationship. "It is tricky at the best of times and easy to get lost," said Dr. James O'Brien, a Bedford, N.S.-based psychiatrist.

Since the investigation began last spring, Beane-Boag has been on leave from Harvard and engaged in private practice in the Boston area. She has refused to discuss the case with journalists. Meanwhile, the board of registration asked the British Columbia Law Society, which conducts hearings on medical board issues, to rule on the propriety of her psychiatric methods. For Beane-Boag, a well-known specialist in alcohol addiction, the accusations could be a crippling blow to her career. "I feel sorry for her," said Reid. "But I feel more sorry for the people who may now be scared to seek help" as a result of reports of the bizarre case.

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PEOPLE

BEAUTIFUL LOSER

When Nick Nolte failed to win an Oscar at the annual film industry award ceremony in Hollywood last week, the burly blond actor joined an elite group. Recently elected as "the sexiest man alive" for 1992 by *People* magazine, Nolte is a widely favored nominee in the category of best actor for his performance in *The Prince of Tides*. However, the loss to Welshman Anthony Hopkins preserved Nolte's membership in an exclusive fraternity of Oscar-losers who include Cary Grant, Paul Newman, Charlie Chaplin, Orson Welles and Gene Hackman.

Nolte and son: 'The sexiest man alive' in 1992



David O. Lauder

A teen triumph

Sixteen-year-old singer Atlanta writes her own lyrics, choreographs her performances—and even edited her last video. And the hard work has paid off. Not only did her self-produced first album produce a platinum-selling single, *The Hit*, but last week the Ottawa native was named most promising female vocalist at the Juno Awards. Atlanta, who is currently working on a new album, describes her music as "positive pop," and says that "I've wanted to be a famous singer since I was 12." Add to the party line: "My parents used to tell me to enjoy. 'We'll see you at the Juno, honey.'"



DAN COHEN/USA

Atlanta: 'positive pop' pays off

POLITICAL ROLES

After honing their acting abilities in the Manitoba legislature, the province's three senior political leaders are taking to the stage. Premier Gary Filmon, Liberal Leader Sharon Carstairs and NDP Leader Gary Doer will appear in a production of Thornton Wilder's *Our Town* (1938) to raise funds for the Manitoba Theatre Centre in Winnipeg. Despite their proven abilities as actors, the three politicians had to audition for the theater's artistic director, Steven Schipper. Filmon plays a minor part, taking backseat to Carstairs, a former teacher, who plays the role of a professor. Doer plays a man who demands economic and social justice for the town's residents. Said a thesaurus-spoken: "It's a nice break for them to be under a different sort of spotlight."

FIGHTING A BITTER FOE: ANONYMITY

Canadian boxer Barrington Franklin is a star known to few fans. But that seems sure to change. Last November, the Toronto-based featherweight became the *World Boxing Federation* champ after beating Louisville slugger Steve Robinson in Milwaukee, Wis. And on April 6, 30-year-old Franklin will defend his title for the second time, in Toronto. Although his still lacks commercial endorsements, 156-lb. Franklin says that he is no hurry. He added: "The word has not spread about me yet, but little by little, it's coming."

A sleuth for the 1990s

Her movie seemed to have the right ingredients: a beautiful actress (Kathleen Turner) playing an embittered feminist private eye who could kill with her looks—and her fists. But last year's *V.I. Warshawski* was a flop. It was panned by critics from coast to coast. However, the V.I. Warshawski novels continue to sell well. In fact, their author, 41-year-old Susan Patacsky, has just completed the seventh in the series, *Guardian Angel*. And with total sales of more than two million copies, Patacsky says that she has succeeded in her goal of creating a strong female character in a literary form that has traditionally portrayed women as helpless victims or unattractive victims. "V.I. Warshawski does the things that I'm too socialized in my good Midwest-girl upbringing to do," the Chicago-based author told *Maclean's*. And while her feminist roots run deep, Patacsky acknowledges that her novels will not change the world. She added: "I'm more of a doer/reader than a social advocate."

Patacsky: a 'good Midwest-girl upbringing'



V.I. WARSHAWSKI: JAMES HAMILTON

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A star's inner world

Lawrence Olivier cared little for real intimacy

LAURENCE OLIVIER: A BIOGRAPHY

By Donald Spoto
(Warner/Cokes, 460 pages, \$31)

A stars are an enigmatic breed who hide themselves by pretending to be other people. The great Sir Laurence Olivier, who died at 82 in 1989, was no exception. According to Donald Spoto, the Los Angeles-based author of the excellent new biography *Laurence Olivier*, the world-renowned actor felt fully real only when he was performing. In his private life, he was emotionally repressed, confused about his sexual orientation and never quite sure who he was. Born orphans, he tended to play roles, a habit that his third wife, actress Joan Plowright, once described as "a bit eerie."

(Olivier compensated for his inner uncertainty by an almost superhuman dedication to his craft. His preparations for the title role in his 1964 *Oedipus* at London's Old Vic became

almost as legendary as his performance. Recalled Olivier in his memoirs, *On Acting* (1969): "I had to feel black down to my soul. I had to look out from a black soul's world.") Three hours before every stage appearance, he shaved off much of his body hair, laboriously oiled himself with three layers of dark coloring—and even turned the inside of his mouth violet.

Such professional devotion contrasted strongly with his love relations, particularly

with his second wife, actress Vivien Leigh. Her demands for affection and sex hardened Olivier, who cared little for real intimacy. Leigh took increasingly into serious education, forced in part by her jealousy over Olivier's affair with emcee Dorey Kays. Kays had a



Olivier: sexual burdens

secret for juggling conceptually into Olivier's life. In 1953, when Olivier was passing through a New York City airport, he was accosted by a customs official who insisted that he strip and submit to a full body search. Afterwards, the official tore off a tag and pretended casual—"I've found the grating box of Dorey Kays. The two of us spent the night together in a Manhattan hotel."

Avoid such fustians, Olivier remained a fundamentally lonely and unhappy man, a state that originated, Spoto suggests, with the 1980 death of his much-loved mother, Agnes, when Olivier was 12. Olivier had his occasional neediness for much of his life until, in his late 80s, he was stricken with dementia-prosopos, a debilitating circulatory disease. Spoto argues that, faced with his own mortality, Olivier became more openly vulnerable and authentically human. Those qualities surfaced in his last great performance, as King Lear in a 1982 television production. One of his fellow actors remarked that on the set

Olivier seemed "to carry the last line as if about to leave." Laurence Olivier: the story of a great actor told that way behind and, in the end, faced both eyes.

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BOOKS

Bilingual blues

Three women are lost between cultures

VOICE-OVER
By *Cécile Corbeil*
(Shedden, 291 pages, \$24.95)

At a time when being English or French in Canada has never been a more mutually exclusive or purely political statement, *Voice-over*, a stunning first novel by Toronto arts journalist Cécile Corbeil, is welcome and disarming relief. The book references political matters in a deeper personal context by telling the emotionally gripping story of a young woman who grows up in Montreal in both official cultures and, by the time she is an adult, feels at home in neither. Not-so-cleverly swings between two cities and two eras. Montreal in the 1960s and Toronto in the 1980s. It revolves around Claude Beaudin, the central character, her sister, Jesse, and their mother, Odette. All three, apart from having complicated romantic lives, have been brought out a kind of cultural schizophrenia. French-Canadian at one point but, through choice and force of circumstance, now feeling English-Canadian lives.

Claudia is a 32-year-old documentary filmmaker living in Toronto. She has a turbulent relationship with a self-control-horror of a writer

("I'm in love with hell," she tells him at one point) and is playing a game of hide-and-seek with her past, alternately remembering nothing and becoming obsessed about the smallest details. Her sister, Jesse, a year and a half older, married and has a three-year-old daughter. She is dealing with her own demons—"Ever since Macy-Dege was born she has felt herself surrounded like a wool sweater in somebody's hands." The sisters, who left Montreal together in the early 1970s for Toronto, have an uneasy relationship, complicated by jealousy and a sense of shame about their past.

Their childhood, with its hints of both physical and emotional abuse, unfolds from both their own and their mother's perspective. Their parents, Odette and Roger, meet in the 1950s, when young French-Canadians they were not officially Québécois back then) were in love with big-band music and American slang. Their marriage is miserable. Roger fritters away his money and fails to understand his young wife's misery. Odette is unloved by motherhood, surprised to find that along with the tenderness that she felt towards her newborn cousin "mountainous and loneliness and a curious sensation of defeat." She is a helplessly vain and rejecting mother. Believing a



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BOOKS

childhood secret of her own, she pushes her little girls away when they clamor for a hug (pretending "mom's asleep, mom's asleep") and has them up with barrettes to a clothesline while she suttles away. Eventually, she divorces Roger and, hungry for security, marries a wealthy Montreal anglophone.

In their early teens, Claudine and Jeanne move into their stepfather's grand Westmount house and are suddenly, *voilà*, jennies. "expected to have English as easy as being dropped in a pan." But the sisters are tormented by their English stepbrothers, who call them "frags" and "papa-currys." They are humiliated at their snooty new English private school, where the French teacher (Ivan Franco) tells them that the easiest way to understand their accents. Then, at the Westmount mansion, where Claudine "lets things center and runs into processes. They just lost their tongues... their culture and their sense of belonging somewhere at all."

Claudine becomes a cultural broker, learning English "like her life depended on it," serving it in "a streambed of a language, following out old paths, covering up where known."

The voice of shame in being French-Canadian as that afflicts the book is somehow slackening in an age of delirious pride. Only *West* seems to continue up the rage of the culturally assimilated—telling his daughters that they are "reborn" (before)—for having assimilated. Later, he sneeringly calls Claudine "Miss Big Sister from Toronto."

Corbett, 38, who was born and raised in Montreal and has moved to Toronto, seems to look from the outside in on both cultures, skewering the pretenses of the French and English. She details how Odette dresses her little girls in "le style anglais": in leather buckles and plaid skirts, or, conversely, describes Odette buying jewelry when she first encounters the laborious spectacle of wealthy women in their lime-green golfing clothes looking "like Frost Loops" on the golf course. "And it's these people calling us pop-art!" Odette thinks. The author perfectly captures the petulance of White, the stepfather, who would stand at the dining-room table "sipping a \$30 prime rib roast and talk about the country falling apart under that pop-speak Trudeau."

Men do not have their finest hour in the novel—they all seem weak and angry. But the women are angry too, if anything, their struggle with the sense of being colonized goes several layers deeper, not just in French-Canadians, but as women, girlfriends, wives and mothers.

How ever takes more than a few dark turns, descending into mores, subtlety and suggestion of harmful substances, but it never descends into nihilism. The writing is too good for that—fast, disciplined and intense. In avoiding the overt politics of either culture or gender, *West* ever somehow manages to get to the heart of both.

JUDITH TIMMON

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Adrift in America

A modern-day pilgrim searches for meaning

OUTRIDGE REACH

By Robert Stone
(Thomas Allen & Son, 400 pages, \$29.95)

American writer Robert Stone is a master at distilling society's most bleak into indecipherable chemotheories and situations. Beginning with the 1976 publication of *Dog Soldiers*, he has portrayed an America that has lost its bearings. His newest new book, *Outridge Reach*, depicts a country in which the streets belong to the poor while the well-off shelter behind well-

He longs for some meaningful challenge to lift him free of a sense of anonymity and void.

Because of his own career when Allen's career stands his spot in a solo round-the-world sailing race. Browne emphatically offers to replace him at the helm. Up to that point, Stone seems to be looking a fairly overcasted dream as he sets up the viable, early Browne for his great test, but he also indicates that neither Browne nor his novel is going to follow expectations. For one thing, Browne's locale of steady competence shows his life as a sailor. When he has to a competitor about solo sailing experiences he never had, he normally a rural flow that will eventually end him.

After Browne sets off to fight the Alaska, Anne has to confront a different kind of rage. Kim Shickel, a filmmaker, Anne has tried to make a documentary about the race, falls in love with her.

Because Stone has presented Anne's marriage with Browne in troubled and living, her gradual movement towards Stockholm makes unsettling, although fascinating, reading. At first, the irony, egotistical Stockholm seems to be Browne's subtext. But the film-maker has a true connection for truth that gives him a hard-edged attractiveness.

Truth, finally, is what *Outridge Reach* is all about. Anne discovers the reality about what she thought was a happy marriage; in fact, her husband has not satisfied her. Browne makes even more painful discoveries in Stone's story over the layers of his personality, revealing much that is false. Surprisingly despite his lack of experience at solo racing, Browne proves a capable sailor. What he cannot handle is the discovery that his boat is poorly built, its cheap, crinkling plastic cockpit has that race. So, unfortunately, he realizes that his own character is no better, that he is on the ocean under false pretenses, trying to be a quietly heroic figure when what he knows only he is at all.

A lesser writer would have shown some mercy at that point. But Stone keeps tightening the screws, leaving Browne on a lonely path in which physical hardship, hallucinations and his own willful indignities in his boat wear down his humanity. Thus, just as Stone has reduced Browne to a pathetic, scorching hull of a man, he shows him a last tragic gesture that both defines and cannibalizes him.

It is possible to read *Outridge Reach* as a story of the contemporary American mind. Browne is a kind of everyman, competent, nervous, apparently straightforward. By showing much of that to be bluff, Stone suggests there is something ungrounded in the American view of the world: the cause of America's decline is not the drug epidemic or Japanese competitiveness, but the attitude of its people, particularly its men. Americans, Stone implies have always sought truth in their success. His tragic tale of Owen Browne indicates that they must also look for it in their failures.

The novel takes its title from a bay in New York Harbor where old boats are left to rot away. The name symbolizes a place of death, where individuals and nations have to go when their ideas of themselves no longer match reality. That is Browne's tragedy, and it might also be his country's.

Outridge Reach is an extraordinary performance. The novel has its flaws, including many awkward sentences and a few unnecessary final pages. But it is one of the best American sailing stories since Herman Melville's classic novel, *Moby-Dick* (1851). Like that great tale of moral bankruptcy and moral growth, it uses the sea to reflect a society's troubled soul.

JOEY DENBRO

Maclean's

WEEK-DIGEST USE

FICITION

- 1 *Burial of Ours, Macfarlane* (1)
- 2 *Waves, Ondaatje* (3)
- 3 *The Road to Nowhere, Laidlaw* (2)
- 4 *The Polaroid Book, Gribble* (4)
- 5 *Grief and Solace, Bontich* (3)
- 6 *Protein, Rogers* (7)
- 7 *Flowing Sun, Crickson* (6)
- 8 *Acts of Faith, Soper* (5)
- 9 *Wax, Suter* (5)
- 10 *The Republic of Love, Smith* (16)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Revolution from Within, Stinson* (1)
- 2 *Urban Cardinals, Bright* (2)
- 3 *Brinkley, Pollack* (2)
- 4 *Peppers Paper, Poirer* (4)
- 5 *A Return to Love, Williams* (3)
- 6 *Health Without Risk for Canadians, Goss* (6)
- 7 *The New Canada, Morley* (9)
- 8 *Devil's Cove, Gosselin* (7)
- 9 *Wishes of the Elder, Johnston and Smith* (1)
- 10 *The Betrayal of Canada, Herlihy* (1)

(1) Premier last week

Compiled by Bruce Roberts



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Stone: reflecting a declining society's troubled soul

locked doors. But Stone goes deeper than that: he scores drives into the psyche of a middle-class American male, tracing his strengths and weaknesses with breathtaking acuity.

Stone's protagonist, Owen Browne, is a beleaguered American. A great veteran of the Vietnam War, he has become a successful salesman and advertising writer for an East Coast outfit manufacturing, Alan Marica Corp. Married to Anne, a woman of striking beauty and notable devotion, Browne seems to have every reason to be content. But his early 60s have filled him with unease. His job bores him, while his country appears to be in a terminal decline.



English road marks: the pub and club

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

It was on Nov. 3, my diary tells me, that I had lunch with a big, burly, well-meaning man in the development field, a guy who has worked the real estate field in several countries. "The Richmans are gone," he said in a shopping mode that rather intrigued me because of his casual attire. "Don't. Same as Chrysler, gone."

"Know why?" he inquired of this somewhat intemperate scribbler who knows as much about real estate as real-estate technology. "Because the Richmans don't understand the English. An Englishman cares about only two things. He wants to be close either to his club or his pub." He was referring, of course, to the grandiose dens of London's Canary Wharf, the crowning jewel in the Richman fantasy of becoming the largest real estate giant in the world. Englishmen, he explained in an explanation that needed no explaining, don't care about air conditioning or fancy carpeting or art deco on the walls of a spanking new office tower. They just want to be close to their pub or their club.

The Richman brothers, who came from difficult backgrounds in Europe and North Africa, brilliantly made their fortune in Canada and graduated to become the largest owners of office space in New York City. One admires their devotion to quality in the construction of their buildings, and their gamble on Canary Wharf, but they didn't know their Englishmen. Any seasoned investor in London knows the Prospect of Wharfedale, advertised in the oldest pub in England. (There are approximately 3,400 pubs in England, closing with some certainty that they are the oldest pub in England.) To get to the Prospect, off along the Thames to King's Cross station in London, one must sit inside a wicker chair for a half a day in get there and back.

It is not there, in the deserted docklands of east London, that the Richmans decided to exit the biggest real estate development in Europe. Their idea was to replace the maze of crisscross, crowded little streets that make the old City of London financial district, bunched under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral, such an impossible traffic mess.



Surely all those bankers and brokers in their pinstripes and bowties would prefer the open spaces and prestige planning of Canary Wharf, renowned the brothers who made their fortune in orderly Toronto and logical New York. In addition, there is the fact to become the financial centre of the New Europe where the European Community becomes an huge multinational conglomerate later this decade. Frankfurt, Brussels or London? The Richmans were granting that the plan for Canary Wharf would win London the battle.

They were encouraged in their new job-obsessed good reasoning by the death of Fleet Street, all the newspaper scribbles and their proprietors having fled further through Jack-the-Ripper east London to the desolate wastes of the Isle of Dogs.

Recently a publishers conference in Ottawa was addressed by Andrew Whitman Smith, editor of *The Independent*, the new quality

London daily that was founded by reporters. When the history books are written, he was asked, who would get the credit for killing off Fleet Street with its aristocratic featherbedding printing presses—Andrew's Rupert Murdoch or Canada's Conrad Black?

"Neither," he replied. "Eddy Shih would." Eddy Shih, the son of an immigrant, and not tied to English ways and traditions, knew—as all Fleet Street did, too—that North American newspapers had long converted to the computer age, reporters punching terminals while every typewriter in the land went to the garbage dump.

Shih introduced his computer technology in the north of England, created a morning London, started a new newspaper and of course went broke, not being in chemistry with the City bankers who were members of the Old Boy network. But Murdoch and Black used his lead to break the Luddite print unions that would not acknowledge the computer age, and convert their operations for down the Thames, as the Richmans are trying to do.

There is a small difference, however. The papers are simply changing their nature—it doesn't really matter where newspapers, because of computers, are located anymore. The Richmans, by contrast, have to follow bankers somewhere else to Canary Wharf. All those bankers that populate the City.

To do that, they made a deal—in Maggie Thatcher's trust-fund capitalism days—to help build a subway extension to Canary Wharf. But it wouldn't be finished until 1996, while London subsidies into the rat-rat traffic along that plagues the United States and Canada. Planned to

plow \$600 million into the \$2-billion tube, the brothers are now having trouble making the payments. Nearly half the space in Canary Wharf is empty, despite the Richmans' offers to convert that space into office space for those willing to move to their dream property.

The smart guys never learn. There would be the bankers, the same greedy guys who in the heady days of the petrodollars leased the billions to the Mexican and Saudis of the Third World that they now can't recover. The bankers—Canadian and American and Hong Kong and Japanese—now wonder about how the Richmans could give up \$20 billion in debts.

They too did not know their Englishmen. A recent study showed the remarkable fact 90 percent of the population that chose to 70 percent of the population in England and more than half of their parents. These are people who are suspicious of change. If they can't afford a club country, they want their pub nearby.

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